IAIN GARDNER AND
SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire

CAMBRIDGE www.cambridge.org/9780521560900

MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Founded by Mani (*c.* AD 216–76), a Syrian visionary of Judaeo-Christian background who lived in Persian Mesopotamia, Manichaeism spread rapidly into the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries AD and became one of the most persecuted heresies under Christian Roman emperors. The religion established missionary cells in Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Rome and has in Augustine of Hippo the most famous of its converts. The study of the religion in the Roman Empire has benefited from discoveries of genuine Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi and from the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt, as well as successful decipherment of the Cologne Mani-Codex which gives an autobiography of the founder in Greek. This first ever single-volume collection of sources for this religion, which draws from material mostly unknown to English-speaking scholars and students, offers in translation genuine Manichaean texts from Greek, Latin and Coptic.

DR IAIN GARDNER is Chair and Senior Lecturer at the Department of Studies in Religion, Sydney University. He has published widely in Coptic and Manichaean studies, including the standard *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1995). He is also editor for the newly found Manichaean texts from the Dakhleh Oasis.

SAMUEL NAN-CHIANG LIEU is Professor of Ancient History and Co-Director of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University. He is the author of many books including *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (1985, second edition 1992); *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars II AD 363–630* (with G. Greatrex, 2002); *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views* (with D. A. S. Montserrat, 1996); and *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 226–363* (with M. Dodgeon, 1991, revised 1994, 1996).

MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

EDITED BY
IAIN GARDNER AND SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521560900

© Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu, 2004

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provision of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published in print format 2004

ISBN-13 978-0-511-21588-9 eBook (NetLibrary)
ISBN-10 0-511-21588-6 eBook (NetLibrary)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-56090-0 hardback
ISBN-10 0-521-56090-X hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-56822-7 paperback
ISBN-10 0-521-56822-6 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To the memory of
Sarah Clackson

Contents

List of plates *page* xi
List of maps xi
List of contributors xii
Preface xiii
Acknowledgements xiv
Notes for the reader xv
List of abbreviations xvii

1 Introduction 1
The purpose of this book 1
The life of Mani 3
The Manichaean system 8
Worship and ethic 21
The development of Manichaean studies 25
The survival of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire 35

2 The life of Mani 46
Childhood, youth and calling 46
1 Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence 46
2 Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin 47
3 Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants 48
4 Mani's account of his call 49
5 Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community 58
6 The beginning of Mani's mission 66
Mani at the court of the Shahanshah (King of Kings) 73
7 Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I 73
8 Mani's first encounter with Shapur I 75
9 Mani recounts his travels 76
The last days and death of Mani 79
10 Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd 79
11 The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I 84

12 Mani's imprisonment and death 85
13 Mani's entry into *parinirvana* 88
14 Praise for the martyred Mani 89
15 The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles 91
16 The institution of the *bema* 93
17 The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah 94
18 The death of Mani commemorated in two *bema* psalms 95
The Manichaean church under Sisinnios and his successor Innaios 102
19 Persecution of the Manichaean church 102
20 The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin) 104

3 Manichaeism in the Roman Empire 109
Early mission and reaction 111
21 The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher 111
22 The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā 112
23 A warning against Manichaean missionaries 114
24 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt 115
25 Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD 302) 116
26 Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans 119
Manichaeans and Christian ascetics in Egypt 119
27 Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind 119
28 A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality' 120
29 A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire 121
30 A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy 121
31 A story of two Manichaean merchants 122
Manichaeism in the Levant, Asia Minor and Greece 125
32 The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza 125
33 The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph 129
34 The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon 129
Manichaeism in Italy and North Africa 130
35 The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer 130
36 A Manichaean house at Rome 134
37 Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine 136
38 The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's 142
39 Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean 143
40 Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage 144
Select legislations against the Manichaeans from Theodosius to Justinian 145
41 Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius 145
42 The death penalty for Manichaeans 149
43 Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills 150

4 The scriptures of Mani 151
44 Mani's canon according to the *Kephalaia* 153
45 Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source 154
46 From *The Living Gospel* 156
47 From *The Treasure of Life* 159
48 From an unnamed work of Mani, probably *The Pragmateia* 160
49 From *The Psalms and Prayers* (?) 163
50 The titles of Mani's *Epistles* 165
51 A quotation from 'The Letter to Edessa' 166
52 Passages from *The Epistles* preserved at Ismant el-Kharab 166
53 'The Fundamental Epistle' 168
54 'The Letter to Menoch' 172
55 Spurious letters attributed to Mani 174

5 Teachings 176
56 The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani' 176
57 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system 179
58 The *Acta Archelai* on cosmogony 182
59 Augustine's summary of the teaching 187
60 An account of the evocation of the gods 191
61 'The prayer of the emanations' 194
62 Concerning the coming of the soul 196
63 The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness 199
64 The 'three days' and the 'two deaths' 202
65 The seven works of the Living Spirit 204
66 Mani discusses astrology 205
67 The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind 208
68 The descent of Jesus 217
69 Augustine on Manichaean Christology 218
70 A psalm by Herakleides 219
71 The great war and the last judgement 220
72 Four recently edited *Kephalaia* 226
73 Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic) 229

6 Worship and ethic 231
74 The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens 231
75 The archetypes of ritual action 232
76 The three seals 236
77 Augustine on the *bema* festival 237
78 A *bema* psalm 237
79 The profits of fasting 240
80 A psalm of endurance 240
81 Augustine on Manichaean ethics 244

82 Augustine on the redemption of the light particles 245
83 A psalm of the universal soul 246
84 A psalm to glorify the Mind 247
85 Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen' 249
86 The nature of love 252
87 A psalm in praise of Jesus 253
88 A psalm to the Trinity 254
89 A prayer for the ascent of the soul 256

7 Community texts 259
90 The advent of Mani 260
91 On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion 265
92 An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer 268
93 A father instructs his young son 272
94 The son writes to his mother 275
95 An elect encourages a sick catechumen 277
96 An elect writes to ask for alms 277
97 A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague 278
98 Horion discusses preparations for the *agape* 280

List and concordance of texts 282
Glossary 290
Bibliography 298
Index 307

Illustrations

PLATES

2.1 Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94 *page* 64
5.1 Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis 194
7.1 General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) 260
7.2 Manichaean psalms from Kellis 273

MAPS

1 The Sassanian Empire xix
2 The Roman Empire xx

Contributors

SIMONETTA CALDERINI is Senior Lecturer in Islamic Studies, University of Surrey Roehampton.

SARAH CLACKSON was Lady Wallis Budge Research Fellow in Egyptology at Christ's College, Cambridge and co-editor of the Dictionary of Manichaean Texts vol. I (Turnhout, 1998) which is part of the UNESCO-sponsored *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* Project.

IAIN GARDNER is Chair of the Department of Studies in Religion at the University of Sydney.

MICHAEL LAFFAN is post-doctoral Research Fellow with the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University and formerly Research Fellow, Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies.

SAM LIEU is Professor of Ancient History and Co-Director of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University, Sydney.

JUDITH LIEU is Professor of New Testament Studies at King's College London.

STEPHEN LLEWELYN is Lecturer in Early Christian and Jewish Studies in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University.

MARK VERMES is a lawyer in Birmingham (UK) and an honorary Senior Research Fellow of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. He was formerly research assistant to the Directors of the Greek and Latin sections of the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* Project.

Preface

The genesis of this book was in the late 1980s when Samuel Lieu first proposed the concept for the volume and approached Iain Gardner to collaborate, especially with translations of the extensive Coptic corpus. Gardner began to prepare portions of the *Kephalaia* codex, but in fact that developed into an entirely separate volume which is only partly represented here. Over a number of years the authors collected texts and made translations whilst they were occupied with other projects (often these contributed entirely new or previously unavailable pieces). Then, in 2000, we finally had the opportunity to put together the translations and introductions that we had gathered for this volume. We are very grateful to our contributors, some of whom had to complete their translations to meet stringent deadlines. We are grateful too to the British Academy, the Australian Research Council, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust and Warwick and Macquarie Universities for grants over a number of years for research on Manichaean texts discovered in Egypt and in Central Asia. To Dr Malcolm Choat we owe a warm word of thanks for helping in the task of indexing and final checking of the typescript. We would also like to thank Dr Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his personal interest in the project and Professor Aloïs van Tongerloo and his research assistants at Catholic University of Leuven, Mr Dieter Taillieu and Kristof D'hulster for checking the translations from the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm. Sam Lieu would like personally to thank the staff and fellows of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University for providing an excellent home for the Manichaean Documentation Centre which greatly facilitated research on this volume.

Acknowledgements

Portions from the following works appear (often slightly adapted) with the permission of the publishers or copyright holders:

Brill, Leiden for Gardner, I. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (1995)
Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC for Deferrari, R. et al. (ed. and trans.) *Fathers of the Church* (date and volume cited in text).
diagonal-Verlag GbR, Marburg for Preißler, H. and H. Seiwert (eds.) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte*, *Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph* (1995)
Le Muséon, the Editors of, Louvain-la-Neuve, for Jenkins, R. G. 'The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T. Kellis 22)', in *Le Muséon* 108 (1995).
Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for Coleman-Norton, R. P., *Roman State and the Christian Church*, 3 vols., London.

Notes for the reader

A good number of the translations included here have been made by the editors specially for this volume, either individually or in some combination with various scholars. Other translations have been specifically commissioned, whilst some have been drawn from published works. We would like to note that all the pieces have, to some extent, been adapted to conform to a basically uniform style throughout. In particular, technical terms, such as the names of Manichaean divinities, have mostly been given the same form throughout (there are some exceptions, such as the retention of the term Syzygos in the *Cologne Mani-Codex*). Where improved readings have been suggested (for instance to the *Manichaean Psalm-Book* text edited by Allberry in the 1930s), the translation will reflect those according to the judgement of the editors. These adaptations, which range from minor matters of house style to major improvements to the textual sense, have not been individually noted; though the occasions where radical revisions to the *editio princeps* have been possible are generally explained or referenced in the introductions to those pieces.

While the selection of texts is intended to be as representative as possible, and includes well-known pieces as well as some previously unavailable, some allowance has been made for the question of whether texts are easily accessible in a modern English translation. Thus, at the beginning, it was intended to provide especially substantial portions of *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, since this only then existed in a German translation that was not always easy to obtain. However, now that that work has been published by Gardner as a separate volume, the selections of that text have been substantially reduced, and are slanted towards parts of the codex edited after Gardner's English translation of the rest appeared.

Sources that appear here have been restricted to only a few pages per piece. This means that some especially long texts (such as the *Cologne Mani-Codex*) have been artificially broken up according to subject matter. These sections accord only to the purposes of this book, and do not reflect

the intentions of the ancient authors. Equally, punctuation, paragraphs and such like have been imposed upon texts with the intention to make them more accessible to the modern reader. The following editorial signs are also used: round brackets ( ) indicate explanatory material added by the editors; square brackets [ ] indicate lacunae in the text; angular brackets < > denote words or phrases added to the text.

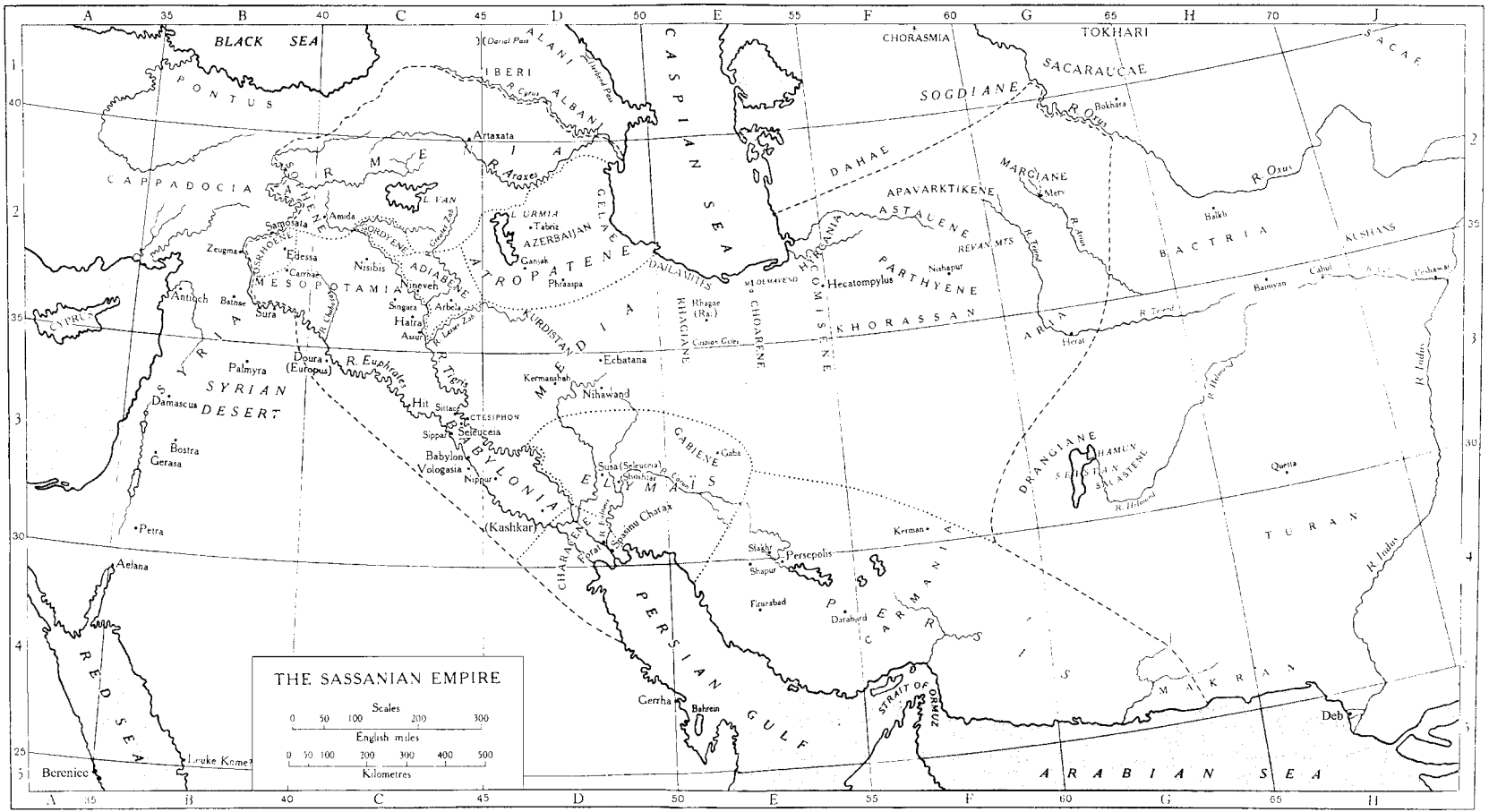
Linguistic notes and terms in the ancient languages have been kept to the absolute minimum. Often, where the editors are aware that divergent interpretations are possible, these are not recorded; but a choice has been made according to our judgement. The overall purpose is to fulfil a felt need for an easily accessible selection of *Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire*; accurate to the best standards of contemporary scholarship, but in English and uncluttered with technical detail.

Abbreviations

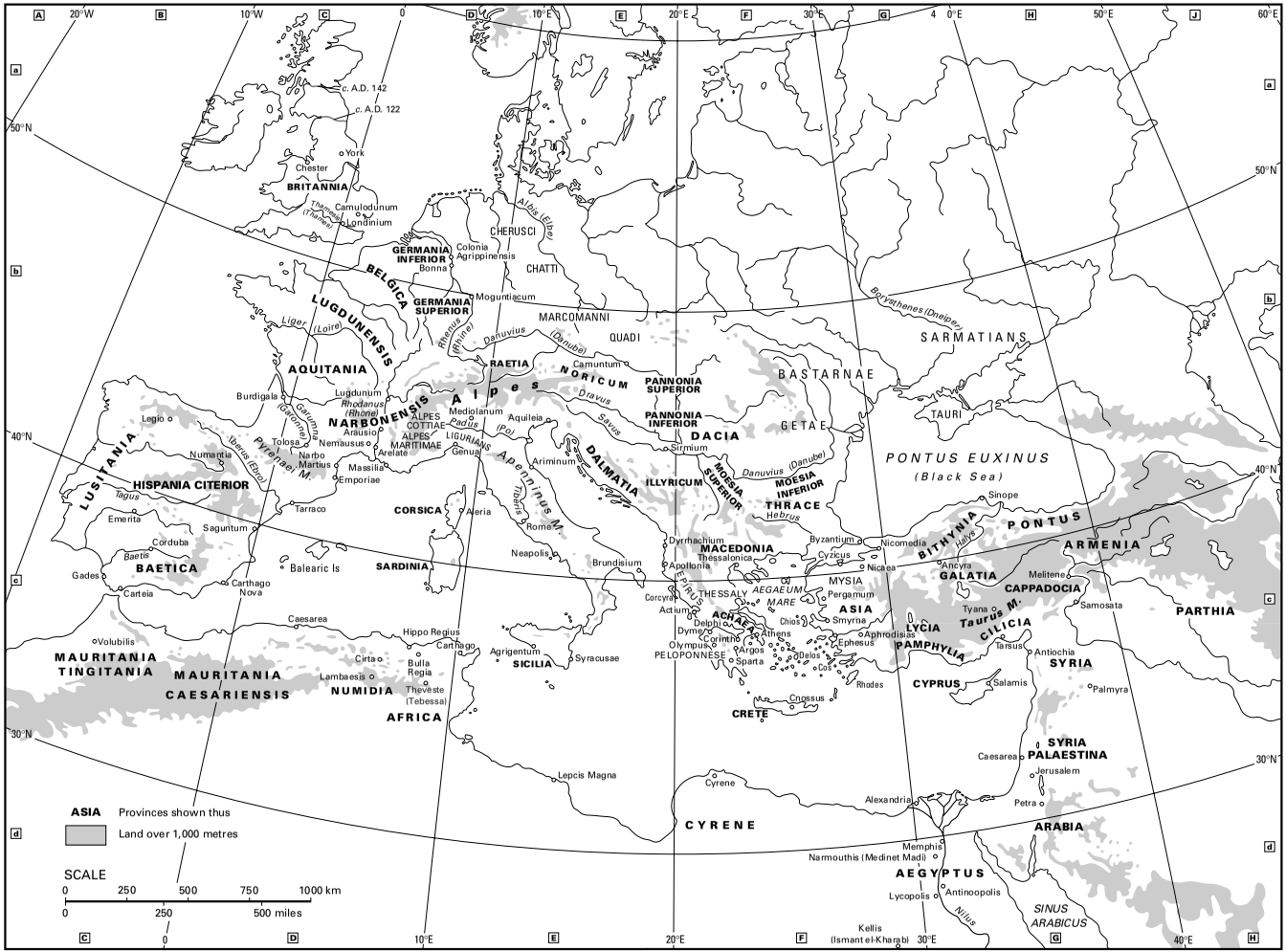
Full details of works referred to by author and date may be found in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of journal titles follow those in *L'Année Philologique* (Paris, 1927-).

APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1815–1907; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1908–49.
Arab.	Arabic
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus (Augustine)
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* II (Berlin 1929)
CMC	*Cologne Mani-Codex*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903ff)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866ff)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 49 vols. (Bonn 1828–78)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus*, eds. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1905)
Fihrist	an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871)
Gr.	Greek
GSR	Klimkeit (1993)
Hipp.	Hippolytus
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart 1934)

HR II	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1–117
Keph.	*Kephalaia*, eds. A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky (1940); A. Böhlig (1966) and W.-P. Funk (1999-) (Stuttgart)
KG	Sundermann (1981)
MCPCBL	Giversen (1986, 1988)
Mid. Pers.	Middle Persian
MM I-III	F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch Turkestan* I, *SPAW* 1932, X, 175–222; II *SPAW* 1933, VII, 294–363; III *SPAW* 1934, XXVII, 848–912
P. Harr. I	*The Rendall Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, ed. J. E. Powell (Cambridge 1936)
P. Kell. II	Gardner (1996)
P. Kell. V	Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeco-Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 162 vols. (Paris 1857–66).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 221 vols. (Paris 1844–64) and 5 suppl. (1958–74)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, eds. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris 1907ff)
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* I- (London 1898-)
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*, ed. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart 1938)
Pth.	Parthian
Sogd.	Sogdian
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin, 1882–1921; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1922–49.
T. Kell.	Tabula Kelliensis, texts either in Gardner (1996); or published separately (publication details in respective entries)



Map 1 The Sassanian Empire



Map 2 The Roman Empire

CHAPTER I

Introduction

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK

The term 'Manichaean' is here used in its primary sense, with reference to the religion that was founded by Mani (or Manichaios, that is Mani 'the living' as the original Syriac was transmitted into Greek) in the early Sassanian empire during the third century of the common era. Mani was a visionary, for he was a mystic and a painter; he was an intellectual, with a passion for understanding all aspects of the natural world and integrating them into a coherent system; but he was also intensely practical in his approach to this divine revelation and this knowledge. We might say that Manichaeism is the first real 'religion' in the modern sense, because Mani established it directly and deliberately, with its scriptures and its rituals and its organisation all in place. A principal aspect of his purpose was that this teaching and this practice and this community would be universal, and would supersede all previous faiths (which indeed were understood to reach their true culmination here). Mani himself travelled widely to preach, heal, convert and establish communities; and he dispatched missionaries in all directions. This book is concerned with the religion's spread and success and ultimate demise to the west of its homeland, that is in the world of the later Roman Empire.

> In the last years of Ardashir the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place a good election. In the year that Ardashir the king died Shapur his son became king. I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians; from the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene and Susiana. I appeared before Shapur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey . . . preaching the word of life. I even spent some years . . . in the retinue; many years in Persia, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans.

> I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have sown the seed of life. I have . . . from east to west . . . my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the . . . Not one among the apostles did ever do these things . . . (my hope) will remain in the world until (the return of Jesus in judgement, and he will place my) church on the right side (and the evildoers) on the left.[1]

Mani's call to the founding of this new and final community came about the year AD 240, and the first Manichaean mission would have reached Alexandria about AD 260. In the Roman Empire Manichaeism arrived as a rival to Christianity, itself suffering its final persecutions before the triumph under Constantine. Indeed, Mani announced himself as the 'apostle of Jesus Christ', its preachers proclaimed that they preached the true gospel, and condemned their opponents as failed or only 'part Christians'. The fourth century saw a bitter conflict between these two interpretations, a conflict that what we now call Christianity ultimately won, allied as it became with secular power. Manichaeism became cursed as the ultimate heresy.

Manichaean studies have seen major growth and development over recent decades. A substantial reason has been the repeated and often spectacular discoveries, of primary and previously unknown texts in particular, which have led to the transformation of our understanding and to the emergence of an entirely new discipline. At the same time, the topic has spoken to contemporary interests in the deconstruction of received histories, here with regard to the 'triumph' of Christianity and its defeat of heresy; in the reconstruction of alternative Christianities, especially the so-called 'gnostic' movements of the early church; in attitudes to the body and to the natural world, where Manichaeism provides a striking and obsessive new vision; and in dialogue between religions and cultures, for Manichaeism spread to both east and west, and interacted not only with Christianity but also with Buddhism, Islam and Taoism.

The purpose of this book is, therefore, to make available many of the diverse and scattered sources relevant to an understanding of the subject. The development of Manichaean studies in the anglophone world has been hampered by the traditional leadership in this field by scholars from the elite universities of the European continent. Also, the topic is shared (and in a sense falls) between many traditional disciplines, so that developments are often not followed by non-specialists. As authors of this book, it is our hope to provide in a convenient and accessible format the resources

[1] *Keph.* 15. 24–16. 17 abbreviated.

and the knowledge necessary for an understanding of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire; this for scholars and students of ancient history and adjacent disciplines in the English-speaking world. It is with this purpose in mind that we have made our selections of material, imposed structure and order, and offered introductory comments to each piece (and these we have tried to keep short and specific). Specialised linguistic notes have been kept to an absolute minimum, and we have mostly omitted seriously damaged text. The material presented here is not intended to substitute for advanced work, for this the scholar must turn to the critical editions of the primary texts in the original languages, and to the detailed studies. In this sense, this is an introductory source-book; but at the same time we have striven for total accuracy and awareness of the very leading scholarship in the field; and, indeed, some of the material presented here is in advance of that published anywhere in the world.

THE LIFE OF MANI

Mani was born, according to a Manichaean source in Chinese, on 14 April 216. His father, Pattek (Arab. Futtuq, Gr. Pattikios, Mid. Pers. Ptyg), is said to have come from Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), the ancient capital of the Parthian Kingdom; and to have later taken up residence in Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia, then the winter capital of the Parthians and later of the Sassanians. The name of his mother is known to us in Arabic as Mays[2] or Awtāḫīm or Mar Maryam, and in Chinese as Man-yen (lit. 'full of beauty', perhaps a transliteration for Maryam) of the royal house of the Arsacids (Arab. Ašgāniyya) and from Chin-sa-chien (probably a transliteration for Kamsaragan, a region of Parthia).[3] The presumed descent of his parents from Arsacid lineage could explain Mani's reserve toward the first Sassanian ruler Ardashir who overthrew the last Parthian king Artabanus V in 224. His father is said to have been told by a divine voice in a pagan temple at Seleucia-Ctesiphon not to eat meat or to drink wine, and to stay away from women. In obedience to this call he joined one of the baptist sects existing in Mesopotamia. The group he joined, which acknowledged the Jewish-Christian leader Elchasai(os) as one of its founders, was very active in missionary work, and not only endeavoured to spread within the Persian Empire, but had even gone as far as Rome. It is possible that Mani received some impetus for his world mission from it, and it may be the

[2] *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, II, 773.
[3] *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa yi-lüeh*, ms. line 19, trans. Haloun and Henning (1952), 190.

source of his reference back to the patriarchs of Hebrew tradition: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Shem.

After his birth, Mani stayed with his mother for four years until his father took him to join the 'baptists'. He lived in their community until he left them soon after his twenty-fourth birthday (his twenty-fifth year) and began to preach his own doctrine. The time with the 'baptists' was of special importance for his personal and spiritual development. He believed that he had twice had a vision in which he encountered his divine 'twin' (his Syzygos), at the age of twelve and at the age of twenty-four. In true hagiographical fashion, Mani was shown in the *CMC* as wanting to reform the sect. He even put words characteristic of his own teaching into Elchasai(os)'s mouth. For example, the 'baptists' used to carry out ablutions; they washed or baptised vegetables which they grew in their gardens, not only for their own use but also to sell in town (see below, pp. 48–9). Mani, however, was utterly opposed to the baptisms and ablutions, because he saw them as being harmful to the light particles which were bound in them. According to Mani, Elchasai(os) had already had a vision while bathing which pointed out to him the sinfulness of this act. Mani regarded the ablutions carried out by the baptists in the context of a great cosmic event, and criticised them. The Sabbath 'rest of hands' observed by the community seems to have led him to the radical conclusion that hands should do no work at all. Mani opposed the ritual use of a certain type of bread, so he was asked if he wanted to eat 'Greek bread'. His companions simply noticed that he neglected their customs; nor did he take vegetables from the garden himself, but asked for them as if asking for alms (see below, pp. 48–9 and 60–5).

Among the men of revelation who, in Mani's opinion, preceded Elchasai(os) was Jesus the Messiah. Thereafter, after failing to reform the community along more gnostic lines, Mani was able to present himself as the fulfilment of the promise of the Paraclete given in the Gospel according to St John. According to the young Mani, Elchasai(os) already wanted to use this name to give himself mythical justification. In the war of words prior to his leaving the sect, the young Mani was accused by some of turning to another trend in Christianity, namely the 'Greeks'; it is possible to understand this as Marcionism. As Mani set great store by Paul in his own writings, and as Paul was regarded as *the* enemy to many Jewish-Christian sects, Mani could not have derived this reverence from the teaching of the baptists. Mani also seems to have been familiar with the teaching of the Christian gnostic thinker Bardaiṣan (who flourished in Edessa in the last years of the Abgar Dynasty during the second and third centuries AD), on cosmogony; as well as that of Valentinus on the division of body and soul.

Mani was not one who merely wanted to construct a system out of philosophical elements and then disseminate it. Rather, he was wholly convinced that he was the 'seal of the prophets'. As mentioned before, he had a vision of his alter ego on his twelfth birthday who had enlightened him about his true existence and calling, but who also required him to stay with the Elchasaites until he had reached full maturity. In those days one reached adulthood at twenty-five. In fact, Mani stayed with the baptists until after his twenty-fourth birthday; but he was already leading a life according to the revelation of his Syzygos ('Twin', or more accurately 'Pair-comrade'). As has already been said, this finally led to disagreements between Mani and his group. When he had turned twenty-four (i.e. in his twenty-fifth year – 'when my body had reached completion'), he had a new vision of his Syzygos. He ordered Mani to appear independently from now on, and that he should do missionary work. This heavenly alter ego is also identified in Manichaean writings with the Johannine Paraclete. Mani unites with his alter ego in the revelation, so that he can be rightly regarded as Paraclete. He began his missionary work during the reign of Ardashir (224–42), but presumably at a time when Shapur I (240–73) had already been crowned co-sovereign.

The second part of the preserved sections of the Greek *Mani Codex*, which narrates the early missionary activities of Mani and the foundation of his church, is very fragmentary (viz. ms. pages 99 *ad fin.*, see below, pp. 65–73). It appears that after he had broken away from the community Mani first went to Ctesiphon, and from there to a village called Naser where he was joined by his father Patticius who had also left the sect. The two then, with a small band of fellow baptists, became wandering holy men; and Mani soon showed his mettle as a dispenser of wise teaching and a performer of miracles. The party travelled northeast to Ganzak, at that time a Zoroastrian stronghold and a residence of the King of Kings. There he introduced himself as a doctor and cured a young child. It was probably on the Iranian Plateau that Mani encountered a hairy hermit who admitted to him that his abnormal covering was the result of taking the best fruits from a tree, thus confirming Manichaean belief in the need of the elect members to avoid hurting the Light elements which are in fruit and vegetables (see below, pp. 67–70).

Mani then turned his attentions to India, probably because he was unable to win imperial patronage for his new teaching from Ardashir during his visit to Ganzak. He travelled first to the important port of Ferat on the Persian Gulf, where he befriended a rich merchant called Oggias (?), and it appears that he travelled to India via Turan and Makran; but it is equally possible for him to have travelled back to Ferat in Mesene

from Ganzak via these regions. According to Middle Iranian sources he is said to have converted the Shah of Turan in the course of his journeys, and we have in the Greek *Mani Codex* the account of the conversion of at least one local king and his entourage *before* he reached Ferat. The encounter with Buddhism in India and adjacent territories was important for the development of the universal and the ascetic aspects of his teaching. Manichaean hagiographical sources speak of him being regarded as Buddha by the ruler there, and being successful in his teaching; whereas the *Kephalaia* also acknowledges difficulties in gaining acceptance. When Ardashir died in 242 and Shapur I became his fully acknowledged successor, Mani returned to the Iranshar from India. He landed in Rew-Ardasir, went to Persis (modern Fars) and then to Babylonia, from where he went to Mesene and Susiana. In Mesene he won over the ruler Mihrshah;[4] he was introduced to the Great King by the latter's brother Peroz whom Mani had presumably got to know in Marw as governor of Chorasan.[5] Shapur I intended to expand the Iranian Empire in all directions and to strengthen it internally at the same time. Mani seemed to him to be the very man for this purpose. His belief was especially suited to the East because of the elements which either came from Buddhism or were confirmed by it. The syncretistic self-awareness which was characteristic of Mani's perception of himself, and which made him consider himself to be the perfection and fulfilment of the three great religions, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity, would allow him to appear as a spiritual cement for the Iranian Empire. He was granted membership of the King's retinue for a long time. Furthermore, it was possible for him to do missionary work within the boundaries of the empire or its sphere of influence. Apart from the aforementioned provinces, he was thus able to preach in Media and Parthia also; and in the Caucasus as well, as at least one Manichaean missionary was active during Mani's life-time in the city of Waruc in Iberia (modern Georgia).[6]

Given the fact that Zoroastrianism was the official religion of his imperial patrons, Mani's religion diffused within the Zoroastrian milieu and at an early stage it assimilated Zoroastrian deities into its pantheon. A more Judaeo-Christian version of his religion spread in the Roman Empire, and also into Parthia where it came under the influence of Zurvanism and later of Buddhism. The two main streams (Judaeo-Christian and Zoroastrian) of Manichaeism later merged in Central Asia, from where many Manichaean texts were recovered in the region of Turfan, and in the Cave of Thousand

[4] M47, *KG*, §10 (1576–1607), pp. 102–3. [5] *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, II, 776.
[6] M216b + M2230 (Parthian), *KG*, §2.3 (130–49), pp. 24–5 and U237 + U295 (Turkish), ed. Zieme (1975) §21, pp. 50–1.

Buddhas from Dunhuang. The lack of awareness by earlier scholars of the complex history of diffusion of the religion has led to it being seen either exclusively as a form of Zoroastrianism (or Zurvanism) or as a deviant form of Syriac Christianity.

It appears from circumstantial references in the *Kephalaia* that Mani spent much of his years under Shapur's patronage in the Twin-Cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon teaching his growing band of disciples. This may explain why the Twin-Cities (Arab. *al-Madain*) later became the seat of the *archegos* (Arab. *imam*) of the sect. After Shapur's death (273) Mani does not seem to have had any difficulties under his successor Hormizd I, but his reign only lasted for one year (273–4). He was succeeded by his brother Vahram I (274–6/7). From Hormizd-Ardashir (Suq al-Ahwaz) in Susiana Mani wanted to go to Kushan, which must be Chorasan, the governor of which held the title of Kushanshah. It was probably the only territory within the Iranshar which could offer him personal safety. In any case he was forbidden to undertake the journey. Full of anger and grief, he returned to Hormizd-Ardashir and then went to Mesene. He knew then that he was on his last journey.[7]

Mani travelled to Ctesiphon in order to go to Bet Lapat from there. At the same time he wanted to meet the vassal King Baat, who seems to have joined his religion and who intended being there also but who then preferred to absent himself. The King later reproached Mani for this. It is likely that Vahram had a hostile attitude towards Mani and his teaching right from the start, thinking it had a destructive effect on his Empire where the Magians and their superiors had gained a decisive influence. After all, Mani's teachings, and the ethics derived from them, were totally contradictory to the feudalist lifestyle. The rejection of procreation, the condemnation of hunting, indeed in effect of all knightly sport because of the fear of harming light particles, must necessarily have led to disputes when it came to acquainting the ruling warrior class with his teachings. They might well be useful as a means of controlling subjects of non-Iranian mentality. According to a later Arabic tradition, Vahram said: 'This man has set off, incited to cause the destruction of the world. Because of this, it is necessary to begin by destroying him before any of his intentions can succeed.'[8] The discussion between the King and Mani, which was extremely acrimonious, amply demonstrates the conflict between secular and spiritual power. The King of Kings was angered especially by Mani's

[7] All the relevant sources (mainly Middle Persian and Parthian) are conveniently collected in Henning (1942).

[8] al-Biruni (1878) 207. 7–9.

self-assurance of being enlightened by God. He saw in this the arrogance of a subject who took to himself unauthorised qualities. Here the conflicting interests of king and prophet clash. It was of no help to Mani either that he referred to King Shapur who had given him his support. Opinion against Mani was certainly stirred up by his accusers. The preserved texts are quite concrete in the description of the events. They show how the charge was carried out through the official channels. The Magians who saw Mani arrive in Bet Lapat turned to the chief Magian, Karder. He then consulted a colleague of his. Next to the Chief of Chief Magians (*mobadan mobad*) was also the Chief of the Priests of Fire (*herbadan herbad*). Whereas the former had special moral and spiritual influence over the King, the latter was a man who had not only ritual but also juridical functions. It is no wonder that these two men, as representatives of state church offices, consulted the Vizier in a difficult religious trial. The Vizier reported the situation to the King, who thereupon summoned Mani before him. The King's wrath resulted in the chaining and imprisonment of Mani, where he died after 26 days.[9] However, he had the opportunity to receive visitors, and thus to prepare his congregation for his end. The year of Mani's death is still in dispute. Scholarly opinion vacillates between 276 and 277 (see below, p. 89).

THE MANICHAEAN SYSTEM

Manichaeism was a religious system that taught a practice for the salvation of the divine in the universe; and which presented a revealed (and in principle total) knowledge of transcendent realities, including the divine nature of the soul, and the details of the pathway to eternal life. At its core was an analysis of the causes and nature of evil and suffering in the world, the predicament in which human and all life are entangled, that was entirely coherent in its own terms. Certainly, Mani directly utilised prior revelations; and in this way particular concepts can be tracked, especially from esoteric or heterodox forms of prior Judaisms and Christianities, through Manichaeism, and into later metamorphoses such as in Shi'ite Islam and the neo-Manichaean sects of the medieval period. However, the religion should first be studied and must be understood as a complete, self-contained world-view; for this was how Mani and his followers presented it to society. Echoes of other faiths and teachings were placed in relation to the revelation of Mani, so that for

[9] The most important source on the death of Mani is the 'Narrative on his Crucifixion' in the Coptic *Homilies* (42–85, ed. Polotsky). This text has been translated in full by Dr S. Clackson for this collection (**10**).

the believer all reality was measured against this given presentation of the one truth. Thus, Manichaeism should be categorised as a religion in its own right, and not subordinated to whatever influences the historian may track.

What is often termed the 'gnostic' character of Manichaeism must be strongly qualified, for Mani turned his revealed knowledge outwards to a universal evangelical purpose. Thus, whilst the elect learnt the secret workings of the divine nature, all were offered the call to faith, and the religion firmly grounded itself in time and the existential world. The religion promulgated faith, knowledge and good works; and rose above the obscure and short-lived irrelevancies of most gnostic sects. An analysis of the core tenets of Manichaeism, when measured against what we suppose to be gnosticism (for instance esotericism, elitism and a sense that the world is a product of error), shows that this faith must be differently categorised. It will be better if we set it apart from such labels, which have their origins in the polemic of its opponents, often reinvented by modern scholars of religion seeking to impose patterns upon the unique products of history.

Certainly, it is possible and important for the historian to trace the diverse elements that Mani drew upon in his revelation; but we emphasise that it is first vital to understand Manichaeism as a discrete and coherent entity, for this is how one can enter the world of the believer. The following account of the teachings of Mani will emphasise this inner structure and coherence. Nevertheless, any such summary can tend towards artificial synthesis. Manichaean knowledge was carefully graded and tailored to the needs of its audience, as with any other avowedly evangelical ideology that seeks the power to change people's life and thought. For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. In the personal letters of the believers at Kellis (see chapter 7) there appears to be scarce knowledge or interest in the many gods and demons, and the intricacies of cosmology, that dominate a handbook for the elect such as the *Kephalaia* (see particularly chapter 5). The textual material derived from Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) evidences how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the knowledge of truth.

Whereas Christianity took centuries to formulate its doctrines, and the controversies of the great councils seem far removed from the teachings of Jesus, Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching. He may be said to have combined the charisma of Jesus, the missionary purpose of Paul, and the doctrinal

stringency of an Augustine. He understood himself to be the final and universal apostle of God, called to restore the truth of all prior messengers, including Jesus, the Buddha and Zarathushtra. There is thus less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures. Nevertheless, the eschatological urgency of earliest Manichaeism may be said to have slowly turned towards an accommodation with the world. It may also be true that the absolute centrality of Mani and his teaching, and the self-standing nature of the religion that we have emphasised, was the result of an evolution in Mani's own religious consciousness, further developed and hardened in the early generations of the church's life. In his *Epistles* Mani habitually introduces himself as an 'apostle of Jesus Christ', and it took both time and confidence for the founder to achieve his full stature as 'Mani the living' (i.e. Manichaios).

Mani believed that he was the recipient of divine revelation from his heavenly Twin (Greek: *syzygos*): '. . . everything that has happened and that will happen . . . I have seen the totality through him (*Keph.* 15: 19–23)'. Although later systematisation asserts that the divine counterpart will appear and bring help to every apostle (*Keph.* 36: 6–9), for Mani this was clearly a deeply personal experience, which is firmly embedded in the traditions (see especially the account of his call and early life recorded in the *Cologne Mani-Codex* (chapter 2)). Scholars have sought to explain the concept with reference to various sources, especially the Thomas narratives of early Syriac Christianity, where that apostle is indeed the twin of Jesus; and calling upon the 'Hymn of the Pearl' with its curious correspondences to the spiritual life of Mani (the origins of this text have been much discussed, but never satisfactorily resolved). However, the core is one of those unaccountable religious experiences, where the recipient knows him or herself to be especially called. It seems certain that Mani himself came to understand his Twin to be the Paraclete, foretold by Jesus, the 'comforter' and 'Spirit of Truth' who would be sent afterwards according to the divine will. Since Mani asserts that with the Paraclete, 'I have become a single body, with a single Spirit! (*Keph.* 15: 23–24)', he himself came to be proclaimed as the Paraclete. This then became one of the most characteristic assertions of the Manichaeans, and one of the most offensive to their catholic opponents; however, it was not intended to mean that Mani was the Holy Spirit, as that equation is part of catholic not Manichaean tradition.

This revelation given by the Twin was systematised, in substance at least by Mani himself, into an elaborate and holistic account of the cosmos,

human history, and the natural world. Manichaean thought was highly structured and maintained a remarkable uniformity from Roman North Africa to medieval China, claiming to provide a coherent and quasi-scientific explanation of everything from the movement of the stars to the origins of fire and the genera of creatures. The claim to knowledge would have been a source of great appeal, but the provision of such detail in the scriptures also demanded a rigidity that finally undermined the religion. For these reasons it can be misleading to describe Manichaean doctrine as a myth; and it was certainly not intended as an allegory. For the believer, the teachings were absolute truth: an eclipse of the sun was not an illustration of the power of darkness against the light, it was visible evidence of the forces of evil in attack against those of good. Mani emphasised that the reality of the teachings was apparent to the senses.

Mani's teaching was summarised by the catchphrase, that 'of the two principles and the three times (or moments)'. The two principles are those of light and darkness: whose realms in the *beginning* are separate, the dark unknowing of the light; then during the *middle* are in part mingled, the reality of this present universe; but at the *end* will be the triumph and eternal victory of life and light over death. We should note that Manichaean dualism was absolute, there was no need to account for the origin of evil. Whilst monotheistic opponents would appeal that this curtailed the absolute power of God, the Manichaeans could respond that only thus was the absolute goodness of God assured. Evil was entirely real, as present as death and darkness are to life and light.

In Manichaeism what is true in the macrocosmos is also true for the microcosmos. The individual soul partakes of this whole history, so that our present enfleshment in a demonic body is only the *middle* time between two eternities. Note too that the dualism is not the hellenistic one of spirit and matter, but of two essences, even substances. The divine life is visible, has spatial and quantifiable elements; and evil matter is the active principle of lust, the elements and 'thought of death'. In the *beginning* time the light and the dark occupy distinct spaces: the light above, and to the north, west and east; but the darkness below and to the south. Between them there was a border.

Manichaean theology is not easily categorised. The Father evokes or emanates powers of himself for purposes in the cosmic drama, and these too may call forth further gods or angels. The language of 'calling out' the powers of light is crucial, to avoid any suggestion of generation, for sexuality is inextricably tied in Manichaean thought to evil matter and the lust that is its nature.

The Manichaeans, or at least the elect, delighted in establishing elaborate systemisations of these beings; but all the divine is ultimately one, so that the diversification represents levels of descent into or entrapment by darkness. Relationships between spiritual levels, for instance a lay believer or catechumen to an elect, will be an exact image of that relationship all the way back up the scale through the gods to the Father. The same is true of all the representatives of the essence of darkness; so that Manichaean teachings are characterised by elaborate series of parallels and shifts of scale.

In the 'first time' the Father of Greatness rules the realm of light, which indeed is an extension of himself, and has four divine attributes: purity, light, power and wisdom. He resides in five intellectuals or limbs: mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements: living air, light, wind, water and fire. Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, distributed three each to the directions of heaven, and refracted also to the one hundred and forty-four aeons of the aeons.

To the south of this kingdom of life is the realm of the King of Darkness. His form combines the shapes of the animals representative of his five warring worlds and kings:

> For they ascribe five elements which have generated their own princes to the people of darkness and give to these elements the names: smoke, darkness, fire, water and wind. Two-footed animals were generated in smoke, and from this source they believe men to take their beginnings; serpents were generated in darkness; quadrupeds in fire; swimming creatures in the waters; flying creatures in the wind. (Augustine *de haer.* 46, 7 Müller)

This realm is a seething manifestation of the conflict and carnality that is its essence, matter, the thought of death. In the course of its constant turmoil, by accident for darkness blindly grasps but cannot know, the demonic powers glimpse the light and desire to possess its life. Since peace is the nature of the light the Father must call out from himself the great divinities, both as the only means to defend his kingdom, and to distance the inevitable conflict from the land of light. In the ensuing 'second time' the drama is driven by these gods and goddesses in the arena of mixture, the universe, while the Father himself remains apart until he can again reveal himself and his inner treasury after the final victory. A characteristic tenet of Manichaean theology is that during the whole history of conflict the Father is 'hidden' (e.g. *T. Kell.* Copt. 1, 11; *P. Kell.* Gr. 92, 45 and 51–2).

It is vital to remember that the history of conflict and loss, of which the universe is a product, is not the result of some error in the divine. It is

driven by the knowledge and foresight of the Father, who knows that this is the only way that evil can be overcome. Suffering is caused by the reality of evil, but the terrors of the middle time must be measured against the divine plan. God may not be all-powerful, but he is all-knowing and all-good. Thus, the necessity of sacrifice may be taken as the cardinal Manichaean quality. Evil is real, and even God must suffer. The reality of divine loss is an unavoidable consequence of this recognition of the absolute nature of evil.

First the Father evokes the Great Spirit who is the Mother of Life:

> He first sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehouses in quiet and silence. When (they had) need of her she was called and came forth of the Father (of Greatness). She looked at all her aeons of light! (*Keph.* 70, 28–32)

She in turn calls forth the First Man. This is the first emanation, that of the gods of *descent.* It also evidences a consciously trinitarian structure embedded in Mani's system, which in common with related Syriac forms of Christianity details the Spirit as feminine. However, there is a temporal and essential order here: first the Father, the origin of all that is good; then the Mother; and then the Son.

Thus it is the first-born Son of God who descends to battle, and ultimately eternal victory over death. The Man is armed with the five light elements, personified as his five sons; and it is this portion of the divine that will be devoured by the powers of evil, and which constitutes the Living Soul. This Soul comes to be compounded with the dark elements of matter throughout the universe, and is in need of redemption for the duration of the 'second time'. It is emphasised that this sacrifice of the Son, defeated and stripped of his armour (i.e. the Soul), is the only means by which evil can ultimately be overcome. Here we see a transformation and universalisation of the crucifixion motif. The Son does not die once for all; the Soul is crucified through all the time and space of history.

This history can be followed in Theodor bar Khoni's citations from Mani in Syriac. They are the best available source in the absence of the original scriptures written in the apostle's own Aramaic:

> And he says that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life evoked the Primal Man, and the Primal Man evoked his five sons, like someone who puts on armour for the fight. And he says that an angel named Nahashbat came towards him holding the crown of victory in his hand; he says that he spread out the light before the Primal Man, and that when the (King) of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: "I find close at hand that which I sought far away." Then the Primal Man gave himself and

> his five sons to be consumed by the five sons of darkness, like a man who has an enemy and mixes a deadly poison into a cake and gives it. He says that when they had partaken of the five nourishing gods, the latter's intellect was removed, and that due to the poison of the sons of darkness, they became like people who are bitten by an enraged dog or a snake. (Theodor bar Khoni *Lib. Schol.* XI, CSCO 69 pp. 313, 27–314, 12)

So, while this first conflict appears outwardly to be a victory for death, as with the crucifixion the believer understands that it was a necessity for the binding of evil. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence is the distress and suffering of the divine Soul, termed the Cross of Light, and personified as the suffering Jesus awaiting redemption. The entire resultant history of the 'second time' involves the mechanics of once more separating the light from darkness, not just to restore the *status quo ante bellum*, but also to so fatally weaken the power of death that it can never again threaten the life. Life is a poison for the forces of death; for, consumed by their own desire for what they can not have, they ultimately destroy themselves. This is necessary, for the good cannot itself bring death, which is not its nature.

In order to establish the arena in which liberation can take place, that is the universe, a new divine trinity is called forth: the Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life). This is the second emanation, that of the gods of *creation*.

It is the task of the Living Spirit to rescue the First Man, which is a prototype of all future redemption; and then to fashion the universe from the powers of darkness in which the light elements, the five sons, are mixed.

> They came to the land of darkness and they found the Primal Man and his five sons sunk in darkness. Then the Living Spirit called aloud, and the voice of the Living Spirit had been made like a sharpened sword, and it revealed the image of the Primal Man and said to him: "Greetings to you, who are the good among evil, the light in the darkness, the god dwelling among the animals of anger who do not recognise their privilege!" The Primal Man replied and said: "Greetings to you, who bring peace and salvation in return!" And he said to him: "How are the fathers of the sons of light in their city?" And the call said to him: "They are well." And the call and the answer accompanied each other in ascending towards the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, and the Living Spirit reclothed the call, and the Mother of Life reclothed the answer, her beloved son, and they descended towards the earth of darkness, where the Primal Man and his sons were dwelling. (Ibid. pp. 314, 20–315, 7)

Thus call and answer are themselves hypostasised into a pair of divinities. Together they are the 'counsel of life' that throughout the time of mixture personifies the awakening and motivating force of the Soul and

light elements that are sunk in darkness (*Keph.* 178: 2–5). To prepare for that, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descend into the abyss. There they defeat the demonic powers and rulers, and out of their bodies fashion the universe. Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness, albeit shot through with the elements of life. The structure of the universe is divinely conceived, even if its matter is evil. In this sense, our environment and history is the best of all possible worlds; it is all that the divine can do in the face of such absolute evil.

The Living Spirit constructs ten heavens and eight earths, flaying and crucifying some of the evil powers above, and forming the earths out of the bodies of others. To hold the whole elaborate structure in place he evokes his own five sons: the Adamant of Light, the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Glory, the King of Honour, and the Porter or Atlas. Each of these five has his own domain of authority. By means of three wheels or garments, fire and water and wind, the three evil vessels of fire and water and darkness are swept down from the heavens; and then, with the corresponding dark elements of the earth, are finally swept into graves that have been prepared for them.

The Keeper of Splendour oversees the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens; whilst the King of Honour watches over the lower heavens from the seventh. The King of Glory turns the wheels so that the light elements may ascend. The Light Adamant humbles sporadic demonic uprisings on earth. The Porter supports the entire structure from below. The sun and the moon are vessels of purified light, and stations on the path of ascent or descent for the redeemed soul and the gods. They may be termed 'ships' (of living fire and water) or palaces. However, the planets and stars are evil rulers. Mani and his followers gave particular attention to integrating contemporary astrological ideas into this system, for their faith was understood as providing a total scientific knowledge; but various problems and inconsistencies are apparent, especially caused by the divine nature of the sun and moon compared with the other planetary bodies.

Once the machinery for the purification has been made ready by the second series of evoked gods, they turn to the Father to plea for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, and thus achieve the process of redemption through time. The Father approves and calls forth his Third Ambassador or Messenger, so termed because he introduces the third age of the world. He dwells in the ship of the sun; whilst the Virgin of Light, his feminine doublet, has her throne in the ship of the moon. Jesus the Splendour, another in this series of salvific deities, is closely related in Manichaean systematics to this androgynous sun-moon god. This is the third emanation, that of the gods of *salvation* or *ascent*.

The Ambassador and Virgin achieve a first redemption of trapped light, again turning the uncontrollable lust of the darkness, which is its nature, back upon it. They reveal their images, or more graphically appear naked, before the male and female rulers (archons) chained in the heavens. These powers spontaneously ejaculate or abort across the cosmos. Some light is drawn to the height, whilst the remainder that is more deeply embedded in matter sinks downwards and must endure further degradation before it is redeemed. A part falls into the sea and rises as a monster that the Adamant subjugates. Other dross falls to the earth to become the seeds of plant life that the abortions eat. Such complicated details of prehistory were drawn from a variety of prior traditions, which seem to have fascinated Mani and his followers. Inevitably they drew the attention and ire of their opponents.

The abortions form a rampaging demonic group from which the different genera of creatures originate, corresponding to the varieties of the five worlds of darkness from which they stem. Adam and Eve are fashioned by demons after the image of God that they have glimpsed, that is the Ambassador who had appeared to the rulers in the heavens; and are procreated after various cannibalistic and sexual acts by the dominant demonic pair: Saclas and Nabroel.

> (Mani) said that the daughters of darkness were already pregnant by means of their nature, and that through the beauty of the Messenger's image that they had seen, their foetuses aborted and fell to earth and ate the shoots of the trees. The aborted foetuses consulted among themselves and remembered the image of the Messenger which they had seen, saying: "Where is the image which we have seen?" Asaqloun (i.e. Saclas), son of the King of Darkness, said to the aborted foetuses: "Give me your sons and daughters, and I will make you an image like the one you have seen." They brought them, and gave them to him; he consumed the males, and gave the females to his wife. Nabroel and Asaqloun had intercourse; she conceived and bore his son and named him Adam; she conceived and bore a daughter and named her Eve. (ibid., pp. 317, 3–15)

Thus, lust is endemic in human nature. Mankind has been deliberately fashioned by demonic forces in an attempt to prevent the redemption of the light, for through the urge for sex humans will multiply, and further entrap the divine Soul in multitudes of material bodies. This inverts the core of Hebrew tradition, that God approves of the creation of man and woman, and ordains that they should 'be fruitful and multiply'. Nevertheless, as with the macrocosmos, the structural form of humans is in a sense divinely conceived as the image of God, and acts as a mechanism for the purification of soul.

Since the human soul is a principal repository of the trapped divine, the abortions having concentrated therein such that they had gained from the buds and fruits they had eaten, humans become the focus of the salvific mission of the gods. In an archetypal episode Jesus the Splendour approaches Adam, lying as dead after his creation and without consciousness, and awakens him to the saving knowledge of his own condition. Here Manichaeism has inherited and developed the widespread gnostic retelling and inversion of the 'fall' narrative, so that now the serpent has become entirely transformed into the heavenly redeemer. The 'right hand' that Jesus gives to Adam to raise him repeats that given to the First Man lying defeated in the abyss, and acts again as a type for the salvation of each individual.

> (Mani) says that Jesus the Splendour approached the innocent Adam, and awoke him from the sleep of death, so that he might be saved from an excessive nature; as if a righteous man were found to be possessed of a violent devil and might be calmed by one's skill. Thus was Adam also, when the beloved found him in a profound sleep, roused him, shook him and awakened him, drove the deceitful devil away from him and kept the female archon far from him. And then Adam looked closely at himself and he knew who (he was). And (Jesus) showed him the Father on high; and his own self cast before the teeth of panther and elephant, devoured by dogs, mingled and imprisoned in everything that exists, shackled in the corruption of darkness. (Mani) says that he made him arise and taste the tree of life. And Adam looked, wept, and raised his voice violently like the roaring lion. He tore out his hair and beat himself: "Woe, woe to the maker of my body, and to he who imprisons my soul, and to the rebels who have subjugated me!" (ibid., pp. 317, 14–318, 4).

The process of redemption now enters into human history. Again Mani drew upon a variety of non-biblical traditions to develop a complex narrative about the family of Adam. Note the veneration of the virginal Seth, a characteristic feature of esoteric traditions; and the fierce antipathy to female sexuality. In another episode from the early generations it is related how the demons guarded by the King of Honour rebelled, and two hundred of these watchers escaped to earth to wreak havoc and unveil to mankind the mysteries of heaven (*Keph.* 92: 24–32). In these episodes prior Judaic material has been reworked and integrated into the Manichaean system.

The revelation by Jesus the Splendour to Adam is the exemplar for all future human redemption. Gradually over the generations more of the divine Soul is liberated, so that 'they that are begotten today, in these last generations, stand diminished and maimed (*Keph.* 147: 10–11)'. To achieve this liberation Jesus evokes the Light Mind, and in turn summons forth the Apostle of Light who becomes incarnate in the great religious leaders

throughout history and the world. So the process of redemption is the work of the Light Mind who transforms the human soul by enlightening and freeing the five intellectuals of light from the shackles of the body and the five members of sin. 'He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness (*Keph.* 96: 25–27).' This 'new man', a concept ultimately to be derived from Paul, will now display the five virtues of love, faith, perfection, patience and wisdom.

Mani believed that he had been commissioned to make the final and universal proclamation of truth for the last generations. Thus the cycle of true apostleship was important to him; and included patriarchal figures such as Seth, Noah and Enoch; also founders of true religions, in particular Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus; and more recent apostles such as the gnostic Nikotheos, and Paul upon whom Mani modelled his own style of mission. *Kephalaia I* provides an extended simile wherein the advent of the apostles is compared to the months of seedtime and harvest. Each apostle is a farmer who plants a church, labouring over it till it matures and ripens. As it finally comes to fruition another will be seeded: 'There is no single time the tree is bare of fruit! (*Keph.* 11: 26–7).' However, the exemplar of the true church was that established by Mani himself, and the authenticity of other communities came to be measured against the practices of this final manifestation of the divine will on earth. (For details of the organisation of the Manichaean church, its worship and ethic, see the following section.)

The various listings of the apostles evidences Mani's concept of universal revelation-history, and indicates sources which he regarded as authentic. Nevertheless, it is the figure of Jesus which dominates all the others who in comparison are little more than names. Preeminently Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ. United with his divine Twin he becomes the Paraclete foretold, as according to John 14:16 where Jesus promises the disciples that he will ask the Father who will send them another helper, the Spirit of Truth, who will remain with them for ever. It is notable that in the personal letters of believers from fourth-century Kellis, Mani is quoted not by name but 'as the Paraclete has said . . . ' (*P. Kell.* Copt. 19, 9).

As a whole Manichaean Christology draws upon a range of influences that are woven into a coherent thread running through the entire revelation. Regarding the historical Jesus the influence of prior docetic tradition is evident. Christian polemic against the Manichaean Jesus as a phantasm without human birth, and capable of only an illusory suffering, reiterates

the arguments raised against the second century heretic Marcion. Similarly, the Manichaeans in their missionary endeavour in the Roman Empire drew upon the Marcionite critique of the Old Testament and the Jewish God, even though in contrast to Marcionism the Manichaean demiurge is good. Again, following Marcion, Mani believed that he had been called to restore the true teaching of Jesus. This had been corrupted and falsely interpreted by Judaisers, against whom Paul had preached, as evidenced by a particular reading of the Pauline epistles. Thus it lay upon Mani to establish a firm canon of scripture that could never again be adulterated.

Mani and the first generation of his church believed that they were living in the last days before the return of Jesus as judge. The powerful salvific and apocalyptic emphases of his teaching are evident in the rich details of the eschatology, both individual and cosmic. At death each soul will be judged, and if triumphant will be greeted by the Form of Light and angels with victory prizes. Devotional texts, such as Manichaean psalms, developed a powerful symbolic language to express this hope.

Specifically, there are three paths for the soul at death. Gross sinners beyond any hope of redemption will be damned to hell to await the second death at the end of time, when all of matter and the darkness will be finally bound and sealed in its eternal grave. In contrast, the souls of those such as the catechumens, who are not inextricably compounded with lust, will be reborn in new bodies and have the hope of final purification. The origins of this core doctrine of rebirth have been much discussed, with scholars divided between discerning an Indian or Hellenistic (or 'gnostic') model. Certainly, the teaching is fully integrated as a coherent element within the system; but it may very well provide an important clue as to the basic influences upon Mani's religious development. It is our view that the complex of ideas relating to action in the world and its consequences, rebirth and liberation, the striving for perfection by the elect and their intimate dependence upon the lay faithful are evidence of a deep current of Indian religious influence in Mani's own life experience, which is not yet fully understood but can not be ignored.

The third way is that of the elect, and indeed of all the light freed from dead matter to life, such as that liberated from fruits and vegetables. This divine ascends up the Pillar of Glory, the great porter of souls, to the moon. This Pillar is itself divinised as a god of the third emanation. It is the Perfect Man (see *Ephesians* 4:12–13), the representation of the church as the body of Jesus in its ascent to the Father. It is also the restoration of the First Man, who descended into dissolution and now ascends reconstituted. This Pillar is visible in the night sky as (what we would call) the Milky Way.

The moon in its waxing and waning also provides visual and actual evidence of its role as a ship and stage in the transit of souls, thence to the sun. For fourteen days the arrival of the ascending light is manifest, then on the fifteenth 'the filling up overflows' (*T. Kell.* Syr. / Copt. 2, 4). For the remainder of the lunar cycle the light flows on to the sun. From the sun (whose continuous filling 'displays the mystery of the Father' (*Keph.* 162: 26–7)) the redeemed light passes to the new aeon that has been built by the Great Builder for the time of mixture. Here the gods rest, and the souls must await the final burial of darkness, before the Father will again unveil to them his image, and can once more receive them into his treasury.

Individual and cosmic eschatology are interwoven in Mani's teaching, for each soul's own tragedy and victory are but a microcosm of the history of the universal Soul and its liberation from matter. *The Sermon of the Great War* is an apocalyptic homily from the first generation after Mani's death, wherein the eschatological event is understood to have already begun. It utilises material from the Gospel tradition; as Mani himself did in his earliest writing, the *Šābuhragān.* After the horrors of persecution and the final terrors Jesus will return to take the judgement seat that is prepared for him, to separate the sheep from the goats and to reign in glory. Then will come the great fire that will achieve such final purification of the light still in the world as is possible. This Soul will gather up and rise as the Last Statue, a divinity that again (as with the Perfect Man) recapitulates the descent into the abyss of the First Man. Then the five sons of the Living Spirit will leave their tasks, and the dead husk of the universe will collapse in upon itself to sink to the depths. All the evil will be sealed up; the males and females separated (respectively in a 'lump' and a 'tomb') so that they can never again renew themselves and threaten the light.

> For, when all the light will be purified and redeemed in the universe at the last, the collector of all things, the Last Statue, will gather in and sculpt itself. It is the last hour of the day, the time when the Last Statue will go up to the aeon of light. The enemy too, death, will go in to bondage; to the prison of the souls of the deniers and blasphemers who loved the darkness. They will go in with it to bondage and the dark night overcomes them; and thenceforth this name 'light' will not shine upon them. (*Keph.* 165, 5–15)

Time in the sense of the workings of the universe and the history of redemption has come to an end. The 'third time' is a new eternality without fear. It is important that it represents a victory and a conclusion, rather than just the restoration of the 'first time'. Never again will the darkness be able to threaten the light. However, it is an important illustration of the

materiality of Mani's conception that evil can not be destroyed in the sense of obliterated from all existence; instead it must be sealed and buried. Still, now that the history of conflict and mixture is ended, the hidden Father can again reveal himself and welcome all the redeemed back to their home:

> (The Father) can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he (sent) to the contest with the darkness. The veils will be rolled back and gathered, and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory. (*Hom.* 41: 13–17)

Now there will be two kings, the Father in the aeons of light, and the First Man reigning with the gods in the new age.

WORSHIP AND ETHIC

Mani was himself brought up within the confines of a narrow religious sect (see chapter 2), and his teachings, although able to drive a religion of world-wide significance, made radical demands upon its followers. Indeed, the question of submission to the demands of this world was the focus of the Manichaean accusation that the 'Christians' were only half believers who had betrayed the teachings of Jesus. The sudden influx and even visual appearance of these new ascetics from the late third century on may well be taken as the spark that lit the fire of Christian monasticism in the decades that followed. Certainly, the rapid growth of the community marked a truly new wave of religious enthusiasm breaking upon the Roman Empire from the east. In this sense the reaction by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities to this 'Persian' incursion can be well understood; although the modern scholar may rather identify Manichaeism as the conduit by which Indian religious practices and ideals flowed to combine with heterodox currents of Judaeo-Christianity from the east.

The teachings which underpinned this new ethic provoked fierce polemic from the leaders of the catholic community, and indeed also the imperial authorities. On the one hand the belief that the divine substance was scattered through all the material world led to devotional attitudes, for instance towards fruit and vegetables as vessels of the Soul, that were received with horror. Christian polemic focused on the complex food rituals intended to liberate the divine light from matter and pain, and accused the Manichaeans of worshipping the sun and the moon. On the other hand Mani's negative account of creation, and fierce antipathy to matter and sexuality as intrinsically demonic, was equally abhorrent.

For Mani the whole rationale for history, and any continuation of human existence, is the liberation of the light elements from the dark. The Manichaean attitude to marriage was entirely negative as the act of procreation prolongs the imprisonment of Soul, which would now be further diversified into matter. Moreover, if a peasant works the land, or if a craftsman uses his tools or the soldier his weapons, then they harm and pain the living Soul. The same applies to speech that calls for such activities; or incites immorality, anger or envy. It is perhaps no accident that the Manichaean community in fourth century Kellis, the only such group from the Roman Empire that we can study in their full socio-economic context, appears to have centred on families of traders.

The principal symbol was that of the Cross of Light, the universal divine stretched and bound upon matter. Particularly the Cross was associated with plant life as manifested in sweetness, colour and translucence; in comparison to the heavy carnality and odour of flesh. Here again we can see the substantial nature of the Manichaean conception of divine light or Soul. It is apparent to all the senses in the world around us. The human endeavour is to separate life from death in all our actions, to surround ourselves (and, indeed, for the elect to take into their bodies and thus expand and free the divine within) with what is beautiful and good. The stink of death and dark matter would be met with revulsion. Still, the condition of the divine in the world and in history is one of entanglement and mixture with all that is disgusting, and thus the characteristic ethic was of sacrifice, pain and long-suffering tempered by glorious hope. Mani writes in one of his *Epistles*:

> If you wish to liken yourself to me: Bear up, like the wise shall bear, so that you will live. I reveal to you, my child, my loved one: Whoever wishes life, and life added to his life, long-suffering is what awaits; because without long-suffering he will not be able to live. For long-suffering has everything in it. (Provisional translation of a text from Ismant el-Kharab, in the process of being edited by I. Gardner and W.-P. Funk)

The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers; and indeed were much concerned with the classification and preparation of foods, which inevitably attracted the scorn of opponents. Specifically, meat and wine were regarded as dominated by the dark elements that would reinfect the believer striving for personal purification, and lead directly to sensuality and ignorance. On the positive side, while the very act of eating caused pain to the light elements, the body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine for liberation of the divine, so that the righteous person could

literally discard the gross elements below, and (through the periodic fasts) breathe forth angels to rise above. Thus, the elect were charged to 'eat the world', and by so doing to free the entangled light. This desperate mission was constantly countered by the evil forces of material desire working ever new depravity upon the innocent Soul. This was a strange but powerful vision of the world and all action within it. In the following passage one of Mani's disciples calculates the number of angels engendered by the fasts in his community:

> Once again, it happened one time while the apostle (Mani) is sitting down among the congregation. One of his disciples stood up in front of (him). He says to him: I have heard you, my master, saying: 'Seven angels shall be engendered by the fasting of each one of the elect; and not only the elect but the catechumens engender them on the lord's day'.
>
> (The work) of fasting is this in summary. Now, I, I have . . . have passed since I became leader. Fifty (elect were with) me in the church over which I became the head. (They stood) before me while they fasted every day. Now, I (took account of the) fasting that a person performs at these three (lord's) days singly, and I found that each one of these (elect) had engendered seven angels by their fasting. So, I (counted the) fasting of these fifty people at the three lord's days: they totalled three hundred and fifty angels, as seven angels are reckoned to each one of the elect, who engender them daily through total fasting. I counted these three lord's days when these fifty people fasted, and I multiplied by three. I found: the number of angels engendered by them totalled one thousand and fifty, and I (was grateful) on account of the great profit and good that I had achieved (on these three) lord's days. (*Keph.* 193, 26–194, 13)

Such an ethic could only really be applied by a small group of people. Yet, the goal that Mani felt to be his vocation was the foundation and propagation by mission of a world religion. The compromise was achieved, possibly under Indian influence, by instituting a two-tiered structure incorporating a doctrine of transmigration of souls. In fact, there was an intimate symbiotic relationship between the ascetics and the lay faithful, with the former needing the latter to support their divine work just as much as latter depended on the former for their hope of ultimate salvation. Although the language of monasticism is used, the Manichaean 'monks' could not live apart from the world, for it was their constant mission to transform it. Mani emphasised active engagement and endeavour against withdrawal.

The community was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal', both male and female) who lived a life of extreme asceticism; around which a greater number of hearers or catechumens ('the continent') gathered, who were able to profit from the piety and righteousness of the

spiritually more advanced. In actual fact the catechumens were allowed to marry and carry out normal daily activities; but they were obliged to see to the alimentary needs of the monks, whose daily meal was the focal ritual practice. Their duty, termed in Middle Persian *ruwānagān* (soul-service), brought merit to the hearers who could hope to advance to perfection in a future life. Augustine explains:

> However, they claim that not only do the powers of God effect this purgation and liberation of good and evil throughout the whole universe and all of its elements, but also that their own elect achieve the same results by means of the food of which they partake. And they state that the divine substance is intermingled with this food just as it is with the whole universe, and imagine that it is purified in their elect by the mode of life which the Manichaean elect live, as if their mode of life were holier and more excellent than that of their auditors. For they would have their church consist of those two classes, elect and auditors. Moreover, they believe that this portion of the good and divine substance which is held mixed and imprisoned in food and drink is more strongly and foully bound in the rest of men, even their own auditors, but particularly in those who propagate offspring. (Augustine, *de haer.* 46, 5–6)

As the final apostle of God Mani led the community for as long as he lived, and after his 'crucifixion' was believed to have ascended to the moon to wait in attendance upon the faithful. During his life-time, concerned at the corruption of earlier churches, he endeavoured to establish the community for the rest of history through writings, missions, and a strong hierarchy. Until the tenth century the Twin-Cities (al-Mada'in) remained the seat of the *archegos* or *imam*. Ecclesiastical authority was mediated downwards via twelve teachers (*magister*), thence to the bishops (*episcopus*), then the elders (*presbyter*), and so to the general body of the elect and hearers. In the Roman Empire the religion established an elaborate network of cells both to facilitate evangelism and to avoid detection. Fascinating glimpses of the workings of the community in fourth-century Egypt, before oppression reduced its ability for effective action in the west, are preserved by the personal letters of the community recovered from Ismant el-Kharab (see further chapter 7). Thus, the boy Matthaios writes news to his mother Maria about his brother who has been given to the elect, and has joined the company of the 'Teacher' (perhaps the foremost Manichaean leader in Egypt at the time):

> And Piene: The great Teacher let him travel with him, so that he might learn Latin. He teaches him well. Their body is set up, and they are good (and) worthwhile. (*P. Kell.* Copt. 20, 24–7)

We even have a complete short letter by Piene himself, writing again to Maria:

> (To) my loved mother, greatly revered by me; her whom I love with all my heart, whose memory is planted in my thought every hour. I am looking forward to seeing you, my mother Maria, precious to me. It is I, your son Piene, who is greeting you; in the Lord, – greetings.
>
> This is my prayer every hour to the Father, the God of Truth, that He may preserve you healthy in your body, joyful in your soul and firm (in) your spirit; for all the time that you (will) spend in this place. Also, after this place, you may find life in the kingdom for eternity.
>
> And know, my beloved mother, that I am doing well here. I am following the Teacher, and will go to Alexandria with him. I shall be . . . I am coming to stay with Apa Lysimachos. Should I come, I will send (a message) to you.
>
> (I greet) my brothers by name, and everyone who loves you. All they who (are with me (?)) greet you. Live and be healthy according to the body and the spirit for a long time.

In later centuries the episcopal hierarchy seems to have been better preserved in the east, especially whilst it was the dominant religion in the Turfan area during the second Uighur kingdom (tenth–twelfth centuries). In central Asia the Manichaeans finally had the freedom to worship openly, to observe their regular fasts, and to develop church practices. However, the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani's martyrdom when a judgement seat (*bema*) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolise his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANICHAEAN STUDIES

Few subjects in the study of the religious history of late antiquity have been so fundamentally affected by the discovery of original writings of the community as that of Manichaeism. In this respect the study of Manichaeism in the later Roman Empire, during the second half of the twentieth century, mirrors that of gnosticism. For both systems, the chance discovery in Egypt of a large amount of original writings in Coptic fundamentally altered the direction of research. Whereas for gnosticism it was the find of more than twelve codices from Nag Hammadi after the Second World War, for Manichaeism it was seven (or more) codices from Medinet Madi. However, unlike the study of gnosticism, the rediscovery of Manichaean texts had begun much earlier; though not in a region which was once within the

frontiers of the Roman Empire, but in Turfan and Dunhuang in Central Asia. However, the fact that they were extremely fragmentary and, with the exception of those in Chinese, in relatively little-known languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Tocharian B, Uighur and even one fragment in Bactrian) meant that they remained very little known to English-speaking scholars of religious history; for almost all the pioneering work on the Turfan texts was accomplished by German scholars, and for long the texts remained available to non-specialists only in German translation.[10]

Prior to the discovery of the texts from Turfan, the scholar of Manichaeism had to rely on the highly biased accounts of the Church Fathers, especially the anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine and of the Greek Fathers like Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis and Epiphanius for information on the teachings of the sect. As for history, the sole source was the so-called *Acta Archelai* which purports to be a debate between Mani and a Christian bishop (with predictable outcome) at Carrhae: a city in Mesopotamia near the Persian frontier and famous for its links with Crassus' defeat at the hands of the Parthians. One source, however, the discovery of which marked a major turn in the study of the religion was the long entry on the sect and its writings in the *Fihrist* (catalogue) of the tenth century Arabic encyclopaedist and book-seller Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ya'qūb Isḥaq al-Warraq al-Baġdādī, commonly known as Ibn an-Nadīm, which clearly draws material *sine ira et studio* from genuine Manichaean sources which were still extant in Arabic in his time.[11] Without this source, which provided new material on almost every aspect of the early history and teaching of the sect, the task of identifying the fragmentary texts from Turfan as Manichaean and of putting them into the right literary context would have been very much harder.[12]

For the specialists in History of Religion in Germany in particular, the Manichaean texts from Turfan which were being conserved and edited in Berlin gave a massive initial boost to the study of Manichaeism. As many of the fragments were in dialects of Iranian and abound in Zoroastrian or Zurvanite terminology, the religion of Mani inevitably came to be seen

[10] For long the only collection in English was Jackson (1932), which also gives the Middle Iranian texts in the outdated transliteration system of F. W. K. Müller. The useful but also dated selection (in translation only) by Jes P. Asmussen (Asmussen (1975)) is known mainly to specialists. The most comprehensive collection of Manichaean texts from Turfan in English translation now is Klimkeit (1994); but some of the translations are heavily abridged and sometimes unreliable. It contains, however, an excellent introduction to the texts with a full account of their discovery. On the latter see also Lieu (1998), 1–58. The same work also contains (196–246) an index of sources to Klimkeit's book.

[11] Flügel (1862). See also the English translation of the whole work by B. Dodge (Dodge (1970)).

[12] See especially F. W. K. Müller (1904), 20–2.

as a reform movement within Zoroastrianism by a prophet who had a good knowledge of Christianity, especially of the writings of the Christian gnostics.

Of particular interest to German scholars was evidence termed by its leading exponent, Richard Reitzenstein (this came later to be known as the 'Religionsgeschichtliche Schule'), as the Manichaean dogma of the 'redeemed Redeemer'. 'In Persian', says Reitzenstein, 'this "man" is the renewer of the world, the bearer of the divine message and power, the redeemer for the whole race, but at the same time the one who has been redeemed who can return to heaven as the first of the Light Beings, a god and also the ideal representative of souls, the great soul.'[13] It is not only for Manichaeism that this basic attitude, that the Primeval or Primal Man is the sum of all the souls which he is to redeem, is typical and of fundamental significance; but for gnosticism in general, for the whole faith about redemption is built on it. This Zoroastrian, or more particularly Zurvanistic, understanding of Manichaean origins gained ground especially amongst distinguished German scholars who worked in related areas, like Rudolph Bultmann;[14] and the great influence and popularity of his works gave ready dissemination to the ideas of Reitzenstein and his school.

In Britain, however, the Cambridge theologian F. C. Burkitt had drawn attention in his Donellan Lectures of 1925[15] to the unexpectedly large numbers of Iranian and Turkish text fragments from Turfan which bear the unmistakable imprint of Christianity, especially of Syriac Christianity. Despite the fact that the Turfan texts were recovered from a region which was a major centre of Buddhism and later of Islam, Jesus (Mid. Pers. and Parth. yyšw', yyšw) was more frequently invoked in Manichaean hymns and homiletical texts than any other Manichaean deity. Manichaean literature, both poetry and prose, also contains many easily identifiable biblical (i.e. Judaeo-Christian) names, themes and scriptural citations; and especially Gospel citations. Some are reminiscent of Tatian's Gospel harmony, the *Diatessarōn*, in the manner in which material from the different gospels are combined; and in the frequent occurrence of words transliterated from the Syriac. Mani's teaching on the Last Judgement, for instance, as expounded by Mani in the *Šābuhragān* (a semi-canonical work which Mani composed in Middle Persian in order to summarise his teaching for his great patron, the Sassanian King of Kings Shapur I) is closely based on the words of Jesus as given in Matt. 25:31–46.[16] One of the most eminent Semitic philologists of his time, Burkitt proved beyond all reasonable doubt

[13] Reitzenstein (1921) 116, n. 2. For a succinct exposé of the views of Reitzenstein and his school on Manichaeism see Widengren (1978), esp. 284–90.

[14] Particularly in Bultmann (1925). [15] Published as Burkitt (1925). See esp. 37–43 and 92–3.

that the first Manichaean missionaries in the Roman Empire, especially in Roman Egypt, were Syrians and not Iranians. On the Syrian aspect of the subject, Burkitt rightly paid tribute to the then little known but essential contribution to the subject of the origins of Mani's teaching made by the late Revd C. W. Mitchell. Prior to his tragic death in the First World War, Mitchell with endless patience and exceptional philological skill had succeeded in deciphering the under-writing of a palimpsest in the British (Museum) Library containing the prose-refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaiṣan by the Syrian theologian Ephraim of Edessa.[17] Ephraim, who was himself a native Syriac speaker, could read the original writings of the Manichaeans; and he saw innumerable parallels and similarities between their teaching and those of two Christian heretics Marcion and Bardaiṣan.[18]

Burkitt's views on the western and Christian origin of Mani's original teaching found strong support in Germany from H. H. Schaeder, a pupil of Reitzenstein. The latter was then highly influential historian for his advocacy of the existence of a pan-Iranian theologumenon, which he saw as the origin to many of the mystery religions of the Roman Empire and of gnosticism. Schaeder reacted against this, and the new material from Ephraim was precisely what he needed to help formulate his argument that Manichaeism should be seen as a product of Hellenism in the widest sense of the term: a Hellenism which embraces both the teaching of the great Graeco-Roman philosophers and of Judaeo-Christianity. In this he made extensive use of the anti-Manichaean writings of the Neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis (modern Assiut) who saw Mani's teaching essentially as a form of Christian revelation masquerading as a respectable philosophical system.[19] 'The teaching of Mani', remarks Schaeder, 'which is generally regarded as a purely oriental mystery religion, is founded on a basis that is conceptually theoretical and oriented towards hellenistic knowledge'.[20] Schaeder's work marks a clear turning point in Manichaean studies in Germany where the subject had hitherto been monopolised by orientalists, especially Iranologists and Turcologists, working at the Orientalische Kommission established in Berlin since 1925 specially for the conservation and publication of the Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean texts from Chinese Turkestan. This westward reorientation would soon prove highly necessary as sensational news reached Germany of the discovery of a small library of seven genuine Manichaean codices in Egypt (see below, pp. 37–9).

[16] Burkitt (1925) 88–9. Cf. Lieu (1992), 78–80. [17] Mitchell (1912–21). [18] Burkitt (1925), 71–86.
[19] Schaeder (1927), esp. 106–27. [20] Schaeder (1927), 97.

The new Coptic texts seemed to confirm Schaeder's theory of a close link between Mani's intellectual outlook and Hellenism; since in them occur terms like 'nous', 'psyche' and 'hyle' (transliterated from Greek into Coptic), concepts familiar from the account by Alexander of Lycopolis (see below, pp. 179–82). Moreover, the almost complete lack of Zoroastrian terms and concepts in documents which clearly belong to the earliest stage of the community's history shows beyond doubt that the Zoroastrian (more precisely Zurvanist) elements found in Manichaean texts from Turfan are later additions, or the product of parallel developments in the Sassanian Empire. It was also clear from the new texts that the sect was intellectually linked to the teaching of gnostic groups within the Roman Empire, especially that of Valentinus; and that Mani also had a good knowledge of Christian writings. A young German scholar of great linguistic ability who played a major role in the editing of the texts was Hans Jakob Polotsky. Prior to his work on the Coptic texts as assistant to Carl Schmidt, who first identified them in Cairo, Polotsky had already researched on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian under F. C. Andreas at Göttingen; and he was therefore in a unique position to review the new material. However, the rise of National Socialism in Germany forced him to flee to Israel; but his authoritative monograph-length article on Manichaeism in the Sixth Supplement Volume to Pauly's *Encyclopaedia* which appeared in 1934 remains a landmark in the study of the subject.[21] In this, while agreeing with Schaeder's views regarding Hellenistic influence on Manichaeism, Polotsky also drew attention to many key elements in Mani's religious system which did not have Hellenic roots. The editing and publication of the new texts from Medinet Madi was severely affected by the outbreak of the Second World War; but the study of the subject was continued immediately after the war by the great French scholar of gnosticism H.-C. Puech, who also played a major role in the study of the newly discovered gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi. His slim, but fully annotated monograph on Manichaeism, draws material from Manichaean texts from both Turfan and Medinet Madi;[22] and he also produced a series of important studies on aspects of the religion which are models of judicious and balanced scholarship.[23]

Of the texts from Medinet Madi, the one which drew most attention was a substantial collection of Manichaean psalms which were (in part) made available in English translation by the brilliant Cambridge classical scholar and Coptologist C. R. C. Allberry (see below, p. 39). The

[21] Polotsky (1935a); also issued separately as Polotsky (1935b). [22] Puech (1949).
[23] The most important ones are collected (with revisions) in Puech (1979).

psalms, which are among the earliest examples of Christian hymnology, give evidence not only of the liturgical practices of the congregation, but also of their general way of thinking. Allberry was sadly killed on active service with the Bomber Command during the Second World War; but in the post-war period a thorough examination was given to these psalms by T. Säve-Söderbergh, who thought he had established that there was a close relationship (amounting to dependency) with the psalmic tradition of the Mandaeans. This is a gnostic baptising sect which until recently flourished in Southern Iraq and adjacent Iran, but whose existence before the Islamic period could not be decisively proved.[24] A branch of research led by another Swedish scholar Geo Widengren, who believed Mani to have had his origins among the Mandaeans, thereby appeared to be confirmed.[25] And, as Widengren's monograph was the only work available in English which was published after the finds of Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi, his views enjoyed wide circulation.[26]

The belief in an early link between Manichaeism and Mandaeism was seriously challenged by the documentary evidence provided by the *Cologne Mani-Codex* (see below pp. 40–3), which was successfully deciphered by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen in 1969.[27] This tiny parchment codex contains a biographical account of Mani in Greek compiled from the witness accounts of his earliest disciples. It states that Mani grew up in a hemerobaptist sect in S. Babylonia which acknowledged a past-figure Alchasaios (*sic*) as one of its founders. The young Mani was the recipient of special revelations from his divine Twin (or Syzygos), and he was expelled from the sect at the age of twenty-four because of irreconcilable differences over food-taboos and rituals. In one of the most dramatic sections of the *Codex*, the young Mani was arraigned before a 'synhedrion' of the baptists who accused him of having 'eaten Greek bread' and, in defence of his refusal to harvest from their vegetable gardens and palm-trees and to perform ritual baptism, the young Mani cited the authority of Alchasaios the founder (archegos) of the sect for his defence (*CMC* 94.1–97.10, trans. below, p. 63).

The name Alchasaios reminded scholars immediately of the putative leader of a Jewish-Christian sect Elxai or Elchasaios who was linked to an apocalyptic work known as the 'Book of Elxai'. A small number of brief excerpts of this work are found in Christian sources, especially the

[24] Säve-Söderbergh (1949), 85–166.
[25] Widengren (1946); and more importantly his popular monograph Widengren (1961).
[26] Widengren (1965).
[27] Henrichs and Koenen (1970). See also the important account of the successful decipherment and identification in Henrichs (1979).

writings of heresiologists like Hippolytus of Rome and of Epiphanius of Salamis, the famous heresy-hunter from Salamis in Cyprus whose *Panarion* ('Medicine-Chest', completed *c.* 377) is a major encyclopaedia of ancient and contemporary heresies. (The work is so-called because Epiphanius saw it as providing the antidote for Christians who might be 'bitten' by heretics or schismatics whom he depicted as venomous reptiles or dangerous animals.) According to these tendentious sources, a certain Elchasaios known to us from Christian heresiological sources is closely linked to the 'Book of Elxai'. The work, according to Hippolytus, came into prominence at the church in Rome during the pontificate of Callistus (217–22) in relation to the controversy over re-baptism. Alcibiades, a native of Apamea in Syria, was said to have gained followers through advocating the practices laid down in a specially revealed work. This he claimed to have originally been received from (the) Seres (= silk-merchants?) by a certain 'righteous man' called Elchasai. He in turn transmitted it to a certain Sobiai (or a community of baptists) as a book revealed by an angel of gigantic proportions.[28] Hippolytus makes no mention of Elchasai as a founder of a sect, nor whether he was a Jew or a Christian of Jewish origin. That Alcibiades was a Christian there is no doubt, but there is nothing specifically Christian in the surviving excerpts of the 'Book of Elxai'.[29] By the time of Origen (*c.* AD 245), however, the Elchasaites were depicted by their opponents as a troublesome evangelising sect; and they were characterised by their rejection of the teaching of Paul.[30] More information is furnished by Epiphanius from whose *Panarion* we learn that Elchasai, the leader of the sect, was of Jewish origin; and though his beliefs were Jewish in origin, he did not live according to the Law.[31] He later joined a Jewish–Christian sect called the Osseans (also known as the Sampseans), and his name means 'hidden power'.[32] To add apparent veracity to his biographical reconstruction of the heresiarch, Epiphanius adduces two sisters called Marthous and Marthana, who claimed descent from Elchasai and who were venerated as goddesses in the reign of Constantius II (337–62).[33]

The new information furnished by the *Cologne Mani-Codex* on the apparent Jewish-Christian roots of the sect in which Mani grew up is nothing short of revolutionary and has led the study of Manichaean origins into

[28] Hipp., *ref. omn. haer.* IX.13.1–2, p. 357, ed. Marcovich. On the place of the Elchasaites in Jewish Christianity see esp. Cirillo (1984); and Cirillo (1986).

[29] With the exception perhaps of the description of a vision of two celestial figures of gigantic proportions which finds a Jewish-Christian parallel in the *Ascensio Jesajae*, IX.27–40, ed. Tisserant.

[30] *ap.* Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* VI.38, p. 592.16–22, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS (Leipzig, 1903–7).

[31] Epiph., *Panarion* XIX.1.4–5, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS (Berlin, 1985) 218.4–10.

[32] Ibid. XIX.1.10, ed. cit., 219.5–10.

[33] Ibid. XIX,1,12, ed. cit., 219,13–16.

completely new territory. Scholars have for some time been aware of the Jewish elements in Manichaeism, especially in Mani's use of apocryphal Jewish works like the Enochic writings[34] and other haggadic writings on Adam and Eve which have found their way into Manichaean texts.[35] The new material not only connects the study of Manichaeism to that of Judaeo-Christianity, it also draws the attention to scholars to a possible 'genetic' linkage between the teaching and community rules of the sect in which Mani grew up and those of Second Temple Judaism, especially sectarians associated with the texts found at Qumran. The practice employed by the compilers of the *Codex* of attributing at the beginning of each section to a particular tradition indicated by the name of a tradent is itself reminiscent of Jewish practice.[36] The 'baptists' appear to have been vegetarians and certain types of food were tabooed.[37] The 'baptists' were given to working in the fields and individual members were allocated their own lands to cultivate, as the *Codex* at one point describes two of Mani's friends as 'of the adjacent fields'.[38] The young Mani was expected to assist in the harvesting of fruit and vegetables and the gathering of firewood.[39] The fact that according to a reliable Arabic source (*Fihrist*, trans. below, p. 47) Mani was taken into the sect at a young age brings to mind the Essenes who, according to Josephus, while eschewing marriage yet picked out male children of other people and moulded them according to their rules.[40] A similar practice among the Mughtasilah may explain why Mani joined the sect at such a tender age and why Theodor bar Khoni alleged that Mani was bought by the sect as a slave. Since abstinence from the flesh (*hapax.*σαρκοδερία) was a fundamental precept of the 'baptists' and since the *Codex* mentions no woman in connection with the sect, we may assume that it was an all-male community. Another indication of the Jewish roots of the sect is that their religion was referred to throughout the *Codex* as the 'Rule' or 'Law' (νόμος), which implies that the sect lived in conformity with 'the Law'. Entry to the sect for a gentile like Mani's father might therefore have involved circumcision and obedience to the Mosaic Law. The members of the sect observed the Jewish Sabbath which in the *Codex* is referred to as the 'Rest of (or: Abstinence from) the Hands' (ἀναπαύσις τῶν χειρῶν), a term which anticipates the 'Seal of the Hands' of the Manichaean elect.[41] Though not actually cited in the *Codex*, the 'Book of Elxai' also contained

[34] On this see especially Reeves (1991a); Reeves (1991b) and especially his monograph Reeves (1992).
[35] Cf. Reeves (1996), 79–88. [36] Cf. ibid. 6–7.
[37] *CMC* 88,2–9, eds. Koenen and Römer (1985), 60. [38] *CMC* 106,15–19, p. 74.
[39] See e.g. *CMC* 6,7–12,5. [40] Josephus, *bellum Judaicum* II, 8, 2(119–20).
[41] *CMC* 102,12–16, p. 72.

elements of an imminent eschatological war involving angelic beings which has echoes in the *War Scroll* from Qumran. Similarly the instructions for baptism 'a second time' for sexual sins (including bestiality) are also found in the *Damascus Document* – another Jewish text closely connected with Qumran though it originally came to light in the Cairo Genizah.

A possible link between the sect in which Mani grew up and a religious leader called Elchasai was already hinted at by the Arabic antiquarian Ibn an-Nadīm in his brief article on the *Mughtasilah* (i.e. those who baptise themselves) in his *Fihrist* ('Catalogue'):

> The *Mughtasilah*. These people are very numerous in the regions of al-Baṭa'ih; they are (called) the Ṣābat al-Baṭa'ih (i.e. Ṣabians of the marsh-lands). They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as al-Ḥasīḥ and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven sayings, taking the form of fables. His (al-Ḥasīh's) disciple was named Sham'ūn. They agreed with the Manichaeans about the two elemental (principles), but later their sect became separate.[42]

Though the passage has been made available in German translation since the mid nineteenth century,[43] the connection between the Elchasaites and the baptist sect in which Mani grew up was not made by most Manichaean scholars until the discovery and initial publication of the *Cologne Mani-Codex*. The seemingly circumstantial and sometimes contradictory nature of the patristic evidence on Elxai has led at least one major scholar, Professor Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, to sound a note of warning against accepting too readily the link between the 'baptists' (i.e. the *Mughtasilah* of the Arabic sources) and the Elchasaites of the Church Fathers. While the 'Book of Elxai' is amply attested among Jewish Christian texts as a major Jewish apocalyptic work, the existence of a Jewish Christian sectarian leader called Elchasaios is less secure as the heresiological accounts give the impression of a developing myth.[44] Moreover, there is little to link the beliefs and practices of the Elchasaites of the heresiologists with the 'baptists' of the *Codex*. The second baptism taught by Alcibiades allegedly from the 'Book of Elxai' has nothing in common with the daily ablutions and ritual washing of food practised by the 'baptists'. Furthermore there are no citations from the 'Book of Elxai' in the *Codex*, not even in the sections in which the disciples

[42] *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, trans. Dodge (1970), II, 811.
[43] Cf. Chwolsohn (1856) I, 543–4. See also the discussion in Flügel (1862) 305.
[44] Luttikhuizen (1985) 210–20 and 225–6. See also Luttikhuizen (1987), 104–6.

of Mani sought to authenticate his revelation with citations from Jewish apocalyptic works and Christian writings (*CMC* 48.16–62.9). There also appears little in common between the teaching contained in the fragments of the 'Book of Elxai' and that of the 'baptists' of the *Codex* save for the doctrine of the cyclical rebirth of the True Prophet.[45] The Alchasaios of the *Codex* was clearly a mouth-piece of Manichaean teaching on the prohibition of harvesting and bathing by the elect and might have been just any 'leader' (*archegos*) of the 'baptists' and not the founder. The similarity in the name Alchasaios with that of the putative founder of the sect of the Elchasaites might have been purely accidental.[46]

The discovery by Professor Werner Sundermann, the principal researcher on Middle Iranian Manichaean texts from Turfan housed in Berlin, of the name 'lxs' in a biographical text of Mani in a Parthian text suggests that the Alchasaios of the *Codex* was not just an ordinary leader of the sect as Luttikhuizen has alleged. The fact that the text was in a dialect of Middle Iranian rules out the possibility of Manichaean missionaries active in the more Christianised parts of Mesopotamia and the Roman Empire 'inventing' the Alchasaios anecdotes to strengthen the sect's link with Christianity. In any case, the Manichaeans were hardly likely to have chosen to connect themselves with a heretical figure of shadowy existence for missionary purposes nor to refer to the sect in which Mani grew up as 'Elchasaites' – an odious epithet coined by heresiologists to denigrate sectarianism. Though the Parthian text is fragmentary, there is little doubt that the name 'lxs' occurs in an autobiographical account about Mani's youth and his calling.[47] Though the name of the founder of the sect of the 'baptists' is consistently spelt with an Alpha rather than an Epsilon in the Greek in the *Codex*, there are plenty of examples of such vowel changes in papyri; especially if the name was transliterated from a Semitic source.[48] The Syriac form of the name 'Elchasaites' is found in Syriac in the anti-heresiological writings of Theodore bar Konī on the Sampsaeans – a sect which was said to be descended from the Elchasaites – and the Syriac spelling is *'lq'sy'*[49] and the initial semitic Aleph would have certainly lent itself to be transliterated into Greek by either Alpha or Epsilon. Furthermore, if the search for Elchasaite influences on Mani is widened to what is known of Manichaeism in general from western sources, rather than focusing narrowly on the *Codex*,

[45] Luttikhuizen (1985), 222. [46] Ibid.

[47] The autobiographical nature is clear due to the word *ymg* "Twin" on the previous line. M1344 + M5910, *KG*, §2.2 (25–7), p. 19.

[48] Cf. Gignac (1976) I, 235 and 242–9.

[49] Theodor bar Khoni, *Liber Scholiorum* XI, CSCO 69 (Louvain, 1912), p. 307.2 – reading *'lq'sy'* for *'ql'sy'*.

there is much to be found. Both sects for instance placed great emphasis on apocalyptic literature, on the call to repentance, and on the cyclical reappearance of Christ. Both reject the Mosaic Laws, and both believe in all matter and plants and animals possessing souls, and in the transmigration of souls.[50] Though none of these similarities is in itself conclusive of a definite link, they do suggest a similar Jewish Christian background between the Elchasaites and the 'baptists' of the *Codex*; especially when one takes into account Mani's one-sided representation of the teaching of a sect whose teaching he rejected.

Controversies over the existence of Elchasaios and doubts over a fourth–fifth century dating of the codex (see below, pp. 42–3) have been relegated to the sidelines in Manichaean studies as another major discovery of new Manichaean texts is announced. The new material from Ismant el-Kharab (the Roman period village of Kellis) in the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt has been found and recorded in a precise archaeological context; and it throws a great deal of light on the nature and activities of a Manichaean community which flourished in that oasis village in the fourth century because of its ability to present itself as a Christian church, and because the remoteness of the location gave it refuge from the persecuting authorities, first pagan and then Christian. The bilingual texts in Syriac and Coptic astounded scholars who had held the belief that given the pervasiveness of Greek, Manichaean texts would have been translated first into Greek and from Greek into Coptic. The new texts also emphasise the predominantly Christian elements of Manichaeism, although one text which was probably originally composed in Greek (the 'Prayer of the Emanations', see below, **61**) may have been deliberately polytheistic in order to attract followers from pagan cults. With such a steady stream of new discoveries, and the need to continue work on still unpublished texts from Turfan and Medinet Madi, the study of Manichaeism is inevitably heavily dominated by the editing, translating and interpreting of new material, and is likely to remain so for some time to come.

THE SURVIVAL OF MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Manichaeism was a religion of the book; and Manichaean preachers, like Felix the doctor who debated with Augustine, took with them the canon of Mani's writings as well as other works belonging to the community. As a result Manichaean texts were often the target of confiscation by both imperial

[50] As well demonstrated by Merkelbach (1988).

and ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Empire. This led to the virtual disappearance of genuine Manichaean texts after the time of Augustine, and until the end of the nineteenth century almost all the examples we have of Manichaean texts which were disseminated in the Roman Empire come from the writings of opponents, especially those passages embedded in the voluminous anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine (who had himself been a Manichaean for at least nine years). Later, as a bishop, he also had access to confiscated Manichaean works. For modern scholarship, the situation as regards availability of texts changed rapidly with the discovery of the long section on Manichaeans and their writings in the Arabic *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm; and later the *Liber Scholiorum* of Theodor bar Khoni the Nestorian bishop of Kashkar in Iraq, which contains a lengthy citation from an undoubtedly canonical work of Mani in its original Syriac. Almost at the same time occurred the identification of a substantial citation from another unnamed Manichaean work in the Cathedral Homilies of Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. Although originally this work was composed in Greek, these homilies have come down to us in two Syriac rescensions (the better known one being the work of Jacob of Edessa, the lesser that of Paul of Callinicum).[51] Then, the discovery of genuine Manichaean texts from Central Asia greatly added to our knowledge of the scriptures of the sect. Similarly the arduous task of deciphering the palimpsest which contains the *Prose Refutation* of Ephraim against Mani, which was completed by Revd C. W. Mitchell before the outbreak of the First World War (as mentioned above), added considerably to the number of genuine citations from Manichaean writings; but Mitchell's death in action led to considerable delay in the publication of the second and final volume of his work.[52] Nevertheless, for the patristic scholar, what was still lacking were genuine Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire itself which were free from the selective presentation and refutation of the community's opponents.

The first texts from lands within the confines of the Roman Empire to be identified as genuinely Manichaean were a number of small papyri fragments in Syriac from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. These are written in an Estrangela script which is very close to that used by the Manichaean communities in Central Asia for texts in both Middle Iranian and Turkish (as

[51] The first major western scholar to study the *Liber Scholiorum* was H. Pognon; but the best known work which gives translations of the citations of both Theodor and Severus of Antioch (rescension of Jacob of Edessa) is Cumont (1908), and Cumont and Kugener (1912).

[52] Mitchell (1912–21). The quotations from Manichaean works cited by Ephraim for the purpose of refutation have been conveniently collected together by Reeves (1997).

well as Bactrian and Tocharian B).[53] These fragments are conveniently collected in an appendix to the seminal monograph of Burkitt,[54] but their fragmentary nature offers us only brief glimpses into a variety of Manichaean writings and their use of Christian scriptures. A slightly more substantial find was made in 1918 when thirteen very damaged leaves of a Latin theological manuscript, containing a large number of biblical citations, were found in a cave south-west of Theveste (Tebessa) in Algeria. Its identity initially perplexed scholars as the contents do not remind one of any of the known writings of the Latin Fathers. It was later suggested that the *Tebessa Codex* (as the text came to be known) was the work of a critic writing against the Manichaean distinction between the elect and the hearer. However, the most generally accepted view, first championed by Alfaric, is that it was rather the work (part of a pastoral letter?) of a Manichaean leader justifying this distinction, a teaching and practice which must have drawn considerable criticism from the Christian opponents of Manichaeism, and which might have also caused discontent among the hearers who could not see the purpose of their service of the elect.[55]

A community which treasured its scriptures as greatly as the Manichaeans was highly likely to hide them from the prying eyes of its enemies. The discovery of a cache which had not been recovered by the sect could therefore yield more than one text. Such a cache, once put into concealment by Manichaean missionaries in the Fayum in Egypt, came to light when in 1929 local workmen digging for fertiliser in the ruins of an ancient house in Medinet Madi discovered at least seven papyrus codices still with their wooden covers in a chest.

The sensational news of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, announced in 1933 by C. Schmidt, H. Ibscher and H. J. Polotsky,[56] marked a decisive turning point in the modern rediscovery of the religion. The codices were already broken up before they reached the Cairo market, where they were first seen by the Danish egyptologist H. O. Lange in November 1929. However, it was C. Schmidt in 1930, while on his way to Palestine to collect manuscripts for the Prussian Academy, who was shown a codex entitled *Kephalaia* and made the connection with Manichaeism. By sheer coincidence Schmidt was in the process of checking the proofs of the late K. Holl's edition of Epiphanius's *Panarion*, and

[53] Cf. Margoliouth (1915); and Crum (1919).

[54] Burkitt (1925), 111–19. This replaces the earlier studies on these fragments by Margoliouth and Crum. See also additional comments in Lieu (1994, 1999), 62–4.

[55] The intitial discovery is given in Omont (1918). A translation of the text with fuller bibliography is given below, **92**.

[56] Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933).

he remembered that among the books that Mani was alleged to have received from Scythianus was one with the same title. Further examination revealed the characteristic clause: 'Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples . . .'

News of the discovery was immediately communicated to A. Harnack in Germany; but, before adequate funds could arrive in Egypt for their purchase, part of the find was acquired by the Irish-American philanthropist and collector A. Chester Beatty. His famous collection of classical and biblical manuscripts was housed first in London, then after the second world war were transferred to Dublin, where they remain. The rest of the codices were then purchased by Schmidt with financial aid from the Stuttgart publishing company Kohlhammer, and shipped to Berlin.

The entire collection comprised seven codices, four in Berlin and three in London (now Dublin). In Berlin were: *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (a small part of this went to Vienna); *The Epistles* of Mani; *The Synaxeis of the Living Gospel*;[57] and a (Manichaean) church history. In London: a book of psalms, together with an index; a collection of homilies; and *The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani*.[58]

The Coptic texts themselves date from about AD 400, and are translations of Syriac originals that reach back to Mani himself (as with the canonical *Epistles*), or to the first generations of the church. They are written in a form of Coptic commonly known as sub-Achmimic or Lycopolitan (specifically dialect L4); and thus did not originate in the Fayum, but perhaps from the region of Assiut (Lycopolis) in upper Egypt.

Various sources indicate that this was an important and successful area for Manichaean evangelisation. One of the earliest critics of the new religion was the neo-Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis who reported that the religion attracted followers amongst his philosophical colleagues. The region also features in the mercantile travels of Scythianus, the proto-Manichaean of Christian polemics. Most importantly, this area of the Nile valley was, and still remains, the closest point in terms of communications to Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis. The Coptic texts from Kellis are also written in a form of Lycopolitan; although admittedly this term is more convenient than specific, since strictly it covers a number of distinct dialects.

[57] The exact contents of this codex (i.e. whether it also contains other works), and its relationship to *The Living Gospel* itself, remains unclear.

[58] The relationship between the two *Kephalaia* codices has also been open to debate. However, despite the variation in titles, it appears that the Dublin codex can best be regarded as simply a continuation of the Berlin one.

The conservation of the extremely fragile codices, both from London and Berlin, was entrusted to the renowned H. Ibscher; and the task of printing the editions consigned to Kohlhammer Verlag. A special Coptic font was cut to resemble as closely as possible the hand-written originals. For the first ten years publication proceeded apace: in 1934 H. J. Polotsky's edition and German translation of 96 pages of *Manichaische Homilien*; in 1938 the latter 234 pages of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II,* with an English translation by C. R. C. Allberry; and fascicles of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky that reached page 244 in 1940.

Unfortunately the rise of National Socialism in Germany, and the advent of the second world war, heralded a number of tragedies. These included the departure from Germany of a number of the leading scholars due to the threat of anti-semitism; the death of Allberry; and the loss and probable destruction of some of the codices housed in the soviet sector of Berlin. Specifically the historical work and *The Epistles* seem to have been removed, and now only a few leaves remain in Berlin and Warsaw.

Such events led effectively to an end of work on the Medinet Madi texts for over forty years. Admittedly A. Böhlig published a further fascicle of the *Kephalaia* (pages 244–91) in 1966, but the work for this was largely prepared in 1943. However, the current outlook is much more positive. With the financial support of the Carlsberg foundation S. Giversen (University of Aarhus, Denmark) has published a facsimile edition of all the Dublin texts in four volumes: *Kephalaia; Homilies and Varia; Psalm Book Part I; and II*.[59] Meanwhile a separate team led by Wolf-Peter Funk (Université Laval, Québec) is working on the remaining material from Berlin: the *Kephalaia*, *Epistles*, *Synaxeis* and *Church History* codices.[60]

Whereas the provenance of the Medinet Madi find is relatively well known, and the subsequent history of how the texts were divided between Berlin and London (now Dublin) has since been described in some detail;[61] the same cannot be said of the next major Manichaean text from Egypt to be identified and published. The learned world first came to know

[59] Giversen (1986, 1988).

[60] In fact, as this volume has been in the latter stages of collation, Funk has published *Kephalaia* fascicles 13/14 (1999) and 15/16 (2000). Some passages of these are included here, with a first English translation by Gardner. Under active preparation are the *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner), church history (Funk and Patterson), and *Synaxeis* (Funk and various scholars). As regards the Dublin codices, Nils-Arne Pedersen is near completion of his new edition of the *Homilies* (we have benefited from a prior view of some of his new readings); whilst various scholars such as Gardner, Giversen, Wurst, and Richter have published, at least in draft form, some passages from Part 1 of the *Psalm-Book*. However, a definitive edition of either the Dublin *Kephalaia* or the *Psalm-Book* Part 1 is still some years away.

[61] See esp. Robinson (1992); see also Robinson (1991).

of an extraordinary discovery by two German scholars, Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, in their preliminary study published in 1970.[62] The manuscript in question was the smallest parchment codex from the Graeco-Roman world then discovered to date. Measuring only 38 × 45 mm, with a single column of an average of 23 lines per page, in size it approximates to Christian amulets like *P. Ant.* II 54 (26 × 40 mm, *Pater Noster*) or *P. Oxy.* XVII 2065 (Ps. 90); but with nearly 200 pages it had much the largest number of quires (eight as against one). However, the wearing of (complete?) gospels as amulets is mentioned by Chrysostom, and the *Codex* might not therefore have been unique in its day. The tiny pages were ruled both for the lines and for the margins, and the ruling is still visible in places. The height of the individual letters never exceeded 1 mm and the text is hardly readable with the naked eye.[63] A glass-bottle filled with water was the most likely enlarging tool used by the ancient scribes to execute such delicate calligraphy. When enlarged by modern methods, the writing is very clear and possesses distinctive proportional spacing and wide and thick strokes. Most of the text was copied by one scribe; but another hand supplied the first quire and parts of the eighth, and several others corrected the text throughout. Although the format of the codex gives the appearance of a prophylact, the text was clearly intended to be read. The scribes made few errors and they even observed very strict syllabic rules in breaking up long words at the end of lines.[64]

Information as to how and when this remarkable manuscript came into the possession of the Papyrus-Sammlung at the University of Cologne is conspicuously absent from the early publications of the text, and the true story may never be known outside a small circle of scholars involved with its decipherment and publication. A more detailed and circumspect account of the preliminary conservation work and identification was provided by Henrichs almost a decade later.[65] According to this Henrichs met Dr Anton Fackelmann, a renowned conservator, in Fackelmann's residence in June 1969. He had in his possession four small dessicated and fragile lumps of parchment. Preliminary reading of individually identified words gave the impression that the document was probably a religious text of an esoteric or apocalyptic nature. Two recurrent phrases were περι της γεννης and του σωματος αυτου. There seemed little hope of separating the pages and thereby revealing the contents more fully. However, a special chemical was applied to the lumps by Dr Fackelmann and the result appeared nothing short of a miracle.

[62] Henrichs and Koenen (1970). [63] *In Matt. hom. 83, PG* 58.669.
[64] Cf. Koenen and Römer (1993), 39–42. [65] Henrichs (1979).

The pages of vellum came off more easily than was expected. The first ones to be detached contained a series of what appeared to be Judaeo-Christian apocalypses, as they were addressed to descendants of Adam. By next day (15 June 1969), however, the Manichaean nature of the work was discovered when this unmistakable exordium was encountered on one of the pages: 'I, Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I was born.' The recurrent phrases mentioned above combine to form the running title which heads every other double spread: 'Concerning the Birth | of his Body'. This odd-sounding title conforms to the Manichaean teaching of Mani's body as only a vehicle of his earthly life; but it may well also allude to the 'body' as his church.[66] A total of one hundred and ninety-two pages in eight quires, together with some unlocalisable fragments, were conserved;[67] making it one of the longest texts to be recovered from a miniature codex. Oxyrhynchus was originally suggested as the place of origin of this unique text; but Lycopolis (modern Assiut), a major centre of Manichaean acitivities in Roman Egypt, was later put forward as the more likely source.[68] Henrich's own words remain vitually our only statement on the possible provenance of the codex:

> Ancient manuscripts which antedate the Byzantine period are almost never identified at the place of their original discovery, and more often than not the circumstances of their disinterment are shrouded in obscurity and secrecy. The Cologne Codex is no exception. Rumour has it that the remains of the codex were located several decades ago in Luxor, and it is a reasonable guess that they were found in the vicinity of ancient Lycopolis, a stronghold of Manichaeism in Upper Egypt. In other words, next to nothing is known about the fate of the Mani Codex before it reached Cologne.[69]

The *Cologne Mani Codex* is unique among extant Manichaean texts both in its literary format and in the information it provides.[70] The conserved pages probably once formed the first part of a historical text similar to the Coptic work now so very partially preserved in Berlin codex P15997 (*v. supra*). However, the format of the *Codex* is different. It is a compilation of the written testimonies by some of Mani's closest disciples such as Salmaios

[66] Henrichs (1979) 342–9.
[67] See the facsimile edition: Koenen and Römer (1985).
[68] Cf. Koenen (1973). [69] Henrichs (1979) 349.
[70] The *editio major* remains the four-part article of Henrichs and Koenen, (1975–82). The commentary on the last part of the text is provided by C. Römer in Römer (1994). The *editio minor* of the text: Koenen and Römer (1988), is the most convenient version for scholars; but note also the numerous articles by Römer *et al.* in *ZPE* giving improved readings and suggested reconstructions to its publication. See also the summary of these relevant to pp. 121–92 of the codex in Römer (1994), 163–5.

the ascetic, Baraies the teacher, Timotheos, Abiesus the teacher, Innaios the brother of Zabed, Za(cheas?), Koustaios the son of 'the treasure of life' and Ana the brother of the disciple Zacheas; and concerns the early life (i.e. the first twenty-four to twenty-five years) of Mani. A number of minor inconsistencies exist between the extracts, especially on the number and frequency and timing of the appearance of Mani's divine *alter ego* (Syzygos), which point to the work being compiled directly from different sources with minimal editing. There are also citations from Mani's writings, e.g. the *Evangelium* and his 'Letter to Edessa', as well as from the writings of St Paul and several hitherto unattested apocalypses. The work was clearly translated from Syriac, as indicated by a number of unmistakable semiticisms; and the fact that it was a translated document obscures the stylistic differences between the different authors from whose individual eye-witness accounts the excerpts were drawn.

The original editors of the *Codex* dated the manuscript to the fourth century on the basis of the similarity in format to other miniature codices used as amulets by Christians such as like *P. Ant.* ii 54 (26 × 40 mm. Pater Noster) or *P. Oxy.* xvii 2065 (Ps. 90). A fourth century date also coincides with the hightide of Manischaean missions in the Roman Empire before they were driven underground by the antiheretical edicts of Christian emperors. An attempt has been made by two scholars to date the *Codex* on palaeographical grounds to the seventh/eighth century.[71] The distinctive style of the writing, termed 'die rechtsgeneigte Spitzbogenmajuskel *palästinischen* Duktus', is typical, according to the two scholars, of texts produced in the early Islamic period and, in particular, liturgical texts with Syriac and/or Arabic. The similarity is specially marked in a number of letters (α, δ, ζ, ρ, υ, φ, ψ, ω) especially in the alternation of thick and thin strokes and the distinctive use of serifs in the letter τ.[72] The historical problems confronting such a late dating are considerable. The *Codex*, apart from the biblical citations, shows clear Semitic influence which is characteristic of an early stage of textual diffusion from Syriac-speaking areas. Some of these semiticisms would undoubtedly have been modified as the text was copied and recopied. A direct translation from the Syriac in the seventh century and copied into a miniaturised codex for concealment would be hard to imagine, except it would explain why a number of accurate details including the Greek versions of the names of some of the tradents of the *Codex* were found in an Early Byzantine anathema text and not in earlier Greek anti-Manichaean polemical writings.[73] The *Codex* could of course have been

[71] Fonkič and Poljakov (1990), 22–30. [72] Art. cit., 25–6. [73] Cf. Lieu (1983), 194–6.

merely a *prophylactus* in which the text copied is of little importance. But the high quality of the calligraphy and the trouble the scribes took to ensure legibility (even in its minute format) down to the very strict rules observed by the scribes in line-breaks involving long words, implies that it is designed to be read. Maybe there was a final renaissance of Manichaeism in Egypt in the early Islamic period with new texts imported from Mesopotamia. In the time of Abū Ja'far al-*Mansur* (754–75), a Manichaean from Africa, Abū *Hilāl* al-Dayhūri became the Imam (i.e. *archegos*) of the sect at al-Madain (formerly Seleucia-Ctesiphon) – the traditional seat of the supreme head of the Manichaean church.[74] That a Manichaean from Africa could be chosen for the most prominent office in the land of the sect's origins within a century of the Arab conquest shows either how quickly the religion re-established itself in Africa (including possibly Egypt) or how resilient it was to Christian persecution.

There was one final dramatic discovery before the turn to the twenty-first century: again it was made in Egypt, and in its own way was just as unexpected. In the 1970s Anthony J. Mills had inaugurated a long-term research project in the Dakhleh Oasis, with the goal to make an holistic study of this remote area and of the adaptation of human life to such an arid environment. Over the years a substantial team from a variety of disciplines (as varied as palaeobotanists and folk historians) had joined the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP), initial surveys had been made, and a number of sub-projects had been inaugurated ranging over a vast time-span of human activity. One of the major of these was an archaeological excavation led by Colin A. Hope, from Monash University in Australia, which was begun in the mid 1980s at the site of Ismant el-Kharab. The initial seasons made apparent that this was the remains of a Roman period village named Kellis, which had been abandoned (probably for agricultural reasons, being dependent on scant water resources and in a harsh climate) by about the year AD 400. It was learnt that in this period the oasis constituted an administrative district (a *nome*) centred at Mothis (modern Mut), and that it lay within the governance, though at the limit, of Roman imperial authority. As indeed is still the case, although the nome had strong administrative and cultural links with Egypt, the local people regarded themselves in important respects as separate. 'Egypt' properly was the Nile valley, which lay some 300 kilometres and more to the east.

By the late 1980s the team at Ismant el-Kharab had begun to recover substantial papyrological remains, and in the 1990–1 excavation season at

[74] Al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, 794.

'House 3' in residential area A these became quite remarkable both for reasons of quantity and type. In particular there were unexpected bilingual fragments in Coptic and Syriac, and a most unusual proportion of Coptic documentary texts (for this time-span) found with equally major Greek finds. The first notice of a Manichaean context was made by the epigrapher Olaf Kaper (of the name 'Manichaios' which appears in text *T. Kell.* Copt. 2, A 5), and shortly after Geoffrey Jenkins identified portions of a psalm parallel to the Medinet Madi Manichaean Psalm-Book no. 222 (*T. Kell.* Copt. 4). The major textual discoveries led to an expansion of the papyrological team, with the Coptic Manichaean specialist Iain Gardner joining in 1991, and soon afterwards the Greek documentary papyri expert Klaas Worp. As Gardner began to view photographs of fragments supplied to him in Australia, and then from 1992–3 began to work each season on site in Dakhleh, the extent of the Manichaean context became much more apparent; and Gardner was able to begin to publicise and publish these finds, sometimes in collaboration with other members of the team.

In House 3 during the later fourth century, and certainly living also elsewhere in Kellis and its environs, there was a thriving community of Manichaean believers; but it must be noted strongly that the numbers of such, and their proportion relative to Christian or pagan contemporaries, can not be known with the present state of knowledge. At this time of writing, the actual sheer quantity of Manichaean texts recovered is relatively minor in comparison with (especially) the Medinet Madi library. However, this new find has marked a major step forward in the recovery of the community's history and its texts for a number of reasons.

Firstly: this was the first time within the Roman Empire that textual resources belonging to a Manichaean community had been uncovered by a scientific archaeological excavation. Previous finds, such as from Medinet Madi or the *CMC*, had appeared divorced of any real context, and the communities or persons to which such texts might have belonged could only receive the most tentative and speculative discussion. Now at Kellis there existed a secure material environment, and such a variety of evidence (coins, ceramics, legal documents, church buildings, burials, etc), that the outline of a real social, economic and cultural history for the village could confidently be begun. This is certainly not to say that all such evidence belonged to the Manichaean believers, but rather that the worlds in which they had lived could take some definite form.

In consequence, with the recovery of such a context where it is now possible to identify the social dimensions of a Manichaean community in late Roman Egypt, the trajectory of research leads to the identification of traces

of the faith where previously they had been invisible; and to a truer understanding of the relations between such religious groups as Manichaeans and Christians in late antiquity, and consequently to a reevaluation of Manichaean identity. For these points see especially chapter 7: the discussion of Manichaean epistolary style, and the evidences of everyday concerns made apparent in the personal letters written by believers to their friends and relatives in Roman Kellis.

Furthermore, while it has already been remarked that there is no massive quantity of Manichaean literary remains yet recovered from Ismant el-Kharab, yet there are some important new genres or examples of type, and the variety of texts is itself impressive. In particular one must mention the bilingual Coptic-Syriac texts (not exampled in this present volume due to their lack of narrative coherence),[75] which evidence the importance of text and authority for the community, as well as illustrating technical aspects relevant to the development of Manichaean literatures in the Roman Empire. Also important are the first examples of Greek Manichaean psalms.

Finally: where the finds from Ismant el-Kharab parallel previously known genres or texts, and this is most apparent with the various 'duplicates' to Medinet Madi psalms that have been identified, they begin to enable the history of these literatures to be recovered. Thus, the 'Manichaean Psalm-Book', of which part II was famously edited by C. R. C. Allberry and published in 1938, can now be better understood as a constructed text that stands at the end of a lengthy redaction history; which itself can also, of course, be extrapolated into an as yet unexampled future.

Thus, the recovery of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire has been punctuated by a series of remarkable discoveries over the last century, which can only promise more for the future. Consequently, this has been a topic that has seen rapid development; and sudden, unexpected shifts in direction. We can not imagine all the future trajectories of research, but the delineation of the faith and its followers is now so much clearer. The purpose of this volume is to make accessible material that in a rapidly changing field may most likely be unknown except to the specialist.

[75] See M. Franzmann and I. Gardner in: Gardner (1996), 101–31; with improved readings in Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999) 344–64.

CHAPTER 2

The life of Mani

On the life of Mani see Introduction (pp. 3–8). The following excerpts are primarily taken from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex* and Coptic sources from Medinet Madi, supplemented by texts in Arabic and Middle Iranian (especially Parthian) which are clearly derived from Manichaean sources ultimately belonging to the same original literary (Syriac?) tradition.

CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND CALLING

1. Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence

This extract, taken from the section devoted to the teaching of the Manichaeans in the *Fihrist* (Catalogue) of Ibn an-Nadīm[1] (composed towards the end of the tenth century AD in Baghdad), draws material from the writings of Abū 'Isā al-Warraq who lived a century earlier and had access to genuine Manichaean writings. It supplies information not yet found in Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire.

Muḥammad bin Isḥaq said: 'Mānī bin Fatiq[2] Bābak bin Abī Barzām was of the Ḥaskāniyya. His mother's name was Mays, but she was also called Awtāḫīm or Marmaryam of the Ašġāniyya.[3] It was said that Mānī was the Bishop (usquf) of Qunnī[4] and of the kinsmen of (**328**) the Ḥūḥī, the Bādarāyā and the Baksāyā nearby. He had a deformed foot. It was said that his father was originally from Hamadān and had moved to Babylon, settling in al-Madā'in in the place called Ṭīsfūn (Ctesiphon) which had a temple (a house of idols). Fatiq attended this temple, like everyone else, when, one day, a voice called to him from the inner sanctum of the temple saying: 'Fatiq! Do not eat meat, do not drink wine and abstain from intercourse

[1] An-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 327–8, trans. M. Laffan (unpublished).
[2] The text of Flügel gives Futtuq.
[3] Probably a miscopy for Asghanijah, see next note.
[4] Here we have a confusion of Mani with the legendary Christian missionary Mari who established a monastery at Qoni as well as the see (later the catholicate) at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. On this see W. B. Henning, 'Zwei Fehler in der arabisch-manichäischen Überlieferung', *Orientalia*, NS, 5 (1936) 84–7.

with anyone.' Fatiq heard this call repeated many times over three days. Having witnessed that, Fatiq attached himself to a group of people in the vicinity of Dastumīsān known as the Cleansers (al-Muġtasila). Their remnants persist to this day in that place and in the marshes. These people were (thus) of the sect which Fatiq was ordered to join when his wife was pregnant with Mānī. Once she gave birth (to him), they claimed that she had had lovely dreams about him. And (once) she gained consciousness she had a vision of him being taken up into air by a force which then returned him, after perhaps a day or two (aloft). And then, having returned, his father came forth and took him to his place of residence to raise him and care for his community.

Mānī acquired the art of wise words at a very young age. And at the completion of his twelfth year, he was inspired from above by (a being) he called the King of the Gardens of Light, (for) it was God Almighty who addressed him. And the angel that brought him (this) revelation was called al-Tawm, from the Nabatean word meaning 'companion'. And the angel said to him: 'Abandon this community, for you are not of them. You must be unblemished and abstain from desires. The time is not right for you to appear, for you are still young.' (So) when he turned twenty-four, al-Tawm brought him forth saying: 'Now is the time for you to appear and call (others) to your cause.'

What al-Tawm told Mānī:

'Peace be with you, Mānī, both from myself and from the Lord Who sent me to you and Who chose you for His message. He has commanded you to invite (others) in your own right and to preach on His behalf the Truth, laying it upon you to do so with your utmost effort.'

2. Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin

We here begin a series of passages from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[5]

(fr. 1) (*Perhaps the Syzygos in a vision spoke to Mani*): '. . . the fellow-believers . . . prophets . . . and saviour(s ?) . . .' **1** (*Mani appears to continue with his account after about thirty-nine lost lines*:) . . . this same (vision (?) . . .) to me . . . it(self(?) . . . **2** '. . .) little by little (I (i.e. the Syzygos)) have shown you (what is hidden (?) . . .) from many (. . .) You will be able to see that

[5] *CMC* fr. 1 and 1-5.13, eds. Koenen and Römer (1988), 2–4. All citations from the *CMC* in this volume are translated by Profs. J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu who would like to acknowledge the helpful comments and observations of M. Vermes and Dr Rosalie Cook. Departures from this edition mainly follow suggestions and improvements made by Dr Cornelia Römer in subsequent publications.

mystery in magnificence and complete clarity.' And then the angel was concealed from (me . . . *about 13 lines lost* . . . **3** . . .) I was protected through the might of the angels and of the powers of holiness which were entrusted with my protection. They also brought me up by means of the visions and signs they showed me, which were short and very brief such as I could bear. For sometimes (he came) like lightning, (. . . *9 lines lost* . . . **4** . . .) this I perceived with all exactitude. He also gave me a firm grounding in that power which remains steadfast in affliction.

Very many are the visions and very great the marvels which he showed me throughout all that period of my youth. Yet I remained in silence, except (. . . *10 lines lost* . . . **5** . . .) whilst I with wisdom and cunning wandered in their midst and observed the 'rest' and did no wrong, neither did I cause distress or follow the rule of the baptists or engage with them in dialogue in the same way (as they do).

3. Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants

This passage (from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[6]) is credited by that text to a certain Salmaios the (ascetic).[7]

6 . . .[8] to him: 'Yet you neither take vegetables from the garden nor do you carry wood for his use.'

Then that baptist rebuked me saying: 'Get up and come with me to the place where there is wood, take it and bring it.' We went to a palm and he climbed it (. . . *9 lines lost* . . . **7** (The palm-tree spoke): '. . .) If you spare us the pain, you will not die along with the murderer.' Then that baptist, overwhelmed by fear, leapt out of the tree in confusion and fell at my feet saying: 'I did not know that this secret mystery is in your power. How was the (great pain of the palm) revealed to you?' (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **8** . . . (Mani spoke)): 'Why did you take fright and change colour (when the palm said) this to you? How much more should he, with whom all the (plants) speak, be disturbed?' He was then gripped by wonder and alarmed because of me. He said to me: 'Guard this mystery, tell it to nobody, lest anyone becomes jealous and kills you.' Therefore someone (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

[6] *CMC* 5.14–14.2; 4–8.

[7] Salmaios from whose writing this extract was excerpted for the *CMC* was an early disciple of Mani. Cf. Tubach (1997), 381–2.

[8] The young Mani was here admonishing a fellow 'baptist'.

9 . . .)[9] One of the leaders of their law spoke to me when he saw that I did not take vegetables from the garden but was asking them for them as a form of alms. He said to me: 'Why do you not take vegetables from the garden, but ask me in turn for them as a form of alms?' And after that baptist had said to (me . . . *7 lines lost* . . .

10 (*Part of another incident*) . . .) and it[10] cried (lamen)ting just like human beings and like children. Alas, alas! Blood poured from the place which was cut by the sickle which he held in his hands. And they cried out with a human voice because of their blows. The baptist was greatly disturbed by what he saw and he came and fell before me. When now . . . someone . . . me (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .

. . .) from infancy **11** (until) my fourth year. Then I entered the religion of the baptists[11] in which I was brought up when I was young, protected through the might of the angels of light and of the powers of great strength who had a command from Jesus concerning my protection.[12] As they then immediately (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

. . . from the spring of) **12** the waters there appeared to me a human form which showed me by hand the 'rest' so that I might not sin and bring distress on him.

In this way, from the age of four until the time when I reached my physical prime, I was (secretly) kept safe in the hands of the most holy angels and powers of holiness (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

13 . . .) Another time a voice as of the Syzygos (Gr. σύζυγος, σύζυξ) addressed me from the air saying: 'Strengthen your power and discipline your mind and accept everything which is to be revealed to you.' Yet again he said the same: 'Strengthen your power and confirm your mind and submit to everything which is about to come to you.' Then I (fell . . .) the voice (. . . *7 lines lost* . . .

14 . . .) from the great (fathers) we have been sent forth.

4. Mani's account of his call

The following sections[13] contain Mani's own account of his second and definitive revelation.

[9] '(Because of the Rest of the Hands . . .)' was read in the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen 1975:11) but Koenen and Römer (1988: 6) find it hard to retain.

[10] I.e. the plant which was being harvested.

[11] The same term 'religion (or dogma) of the baptists' is also found in the *Homilies* (87.13, ed. Polotsky) transcribed from Greek into Coptic. Unfortunately, the relevant section of the *Homilies* (which is clearly a summary of biographical material closely related to the *CMC*) is highly fragmentary.

[12] 'Jesus concerning my protection': new reading suggested by Maresch (1988) 84.

[13] *CMC* 18.1–41.11; 12–26.

Baraies the Teacher:

18 (. . . When) I was twenty (four) years old, in the year in which Dariadaxar,[14] the king of Persia, conquered the city of Hatra,[15] and in which his son King Sapores[16] assumed the mighty diadem, in the month Pharmouthi, on the eighth day according to the moon,[17] the most blessed lord had compassion on me and called me to his grace and sent to me (my) Syzygos (who) in great (glory . . . *8 lines lost* . . . **19** . . .) He remembered and (passed on) all noble counsels which came from our Father and from the original beneficial good.

And he spoke again as follows: 'Even as my Father has been well pleased and has shown me mercy and pity, to redeem me from the error of the sectarians, and showing me compassion through his many (revelations) he sent (to me my Syzygos . . . *5 lines lost* . . . **20** He (the Syzygos) conveyed to me the) noblest (hope and) redemption for the long-suffering, and the truest counsels and judgements and the laying on of hands which comes from our Father. Therefore, when he came, he released me and separated me and drew me away from the midst of that rule in which I was brought up. In this way he called me and chose me and drew me and separated me from their midst. He drew (me away to one) side (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . **21** . . .) and (showed me) who I am and what my body is, in what way I came and how my coming into this world happened, and who I have become among those who are most distinguished in pre-eminence, and how I was born into this fleshly body, or through what woman I was brought to birth and delivered into this flesh, and by whom I was begotten.[18] (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **22** . . .) and how that . . . came about, and who is my Father on high or in what way I was separated from him and was sent according to his will, and what command and instruction he gave to me before I clothed myself with this frame, and before I fell into error in this loathsome flesh, and before I put on its intoxication and its habits, and who (he is) who is (my unsleeping Syzygos . . .) and the (. . . *5 lines lost* . . . **23** . . .) (and the Syzygos further shows) the secrets and the (thoughts), and the pre-eminence of my Father, and concerning myself, who I am, and who is my inseparable Syzygos; moreover, concerning my soul, which is the soul of all worlds, what

[14] I.e. Ardashir (r. AD 224–42), the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

[15] Hatra was loyal to the deposed Parthian Dynasty, and its defence against a long siege conducted by the crown-prince and co-regent Shapur was assisted by Roman forces.

[16] I.e. Shapur I (r. 240–73, co-regent 240–2).

[17] I.e. 17/18 April AD 240.

[18] The Manichaeans believed that the fleshly human body was the lustful creation of evil forces and was a prison for divine light-particles. The passage suggests that Mani had a divine and 'flesh-free' existence before he was incarnated.

it is itself or how it came to be. He also revealed to me, in addition, the measureless heights and unsearchable depths, he showed (me) everything which (. . .' *8 lines lost* . . .

24 . . . *1 line lost* . . .
. . .) he who is (the most protected:
I received) him piously,
and I obtained him as my own property.
I believed him,
that he belongs to me
and that he is a good and useful counsellor.
I recognised him,
and understood that I am he
from whom I was separated.
I have borne witness,
that I myself am he
and am (completely) the same . . .
. . . *8 lines lost* . . .
25 . . .) to him.

Again he spoke thus: 'With very great skill and understanding I went about in that rule, guarding that hope in my mind while no one perceived who it was that was with me. And I myself revealed to no one anything during that very long time. Yet I did not . . . fleshly . . . in the same way as them (. . .' *6 lines lost* . . .

26 I reve)aled to them none of those things which had happened or were to happen, nor what it was that I knew, or what it was which I had received.

The teachers speak:[19]

'Therefore when that highly renowned and greatly blessed one revealed to me these great unspeakable secrets, he began to say to me: "Declare this mystery which I have revealed to you from . . . to everyone . . . and reveal (. . . *ms. pp.* ***27–8*** *are missing.*)[20]

28 . . . (line 23) (by means of the reaping-hook)

29 which separates the weeds and fruits of the earth, to cut off the branches of all the rebels, then truth alone is glorified and reigns like the (Father?) of the heights. (. . . *14 lines lost* . . .)

[19] The text turns now from the witness of Baraies to another source (unknown).

[20] Fragment 4a/b suggested in Koenen and Römer (1985) 54–55 as part of these lost pages has now been placed more securely on pp. 35 and 36 (see below).

30 . . .) to those who are bound according to the flesh; but even in this way, little by little I separated myself from the midst of that rule (in) which I was brought up; I admire beyond (measure . . .) mysteries . . . many[21] (. . . *7 lines lost* . . .)

31 (my enemies are) great in number, but I am alone. These are rich, but I am poor; how then shall I who am alone against all, be able to reveal this mystery in the midst of the great number which is (entangled in) error? (How will I go) to the (kings) and governors (. . .) good (. . .) race (. . .) to converse (. . .) indeed (. . .) for (I am . . .) and (poor and) alone[22] (. . . *3 lines lost* . . . **32** . . .) [23] very many helpers also associate with him (viz. the King of Kings (?)). While these thoughts were passing through my mind, there stood before me immediately my (most glorious) Syzygos and he said to me: 'Why have you said that this mystery can not be revealed to the kings by you? So just as I counselled you before as a good adviser, so now am I advisor of your counsel.'[24]

Timotheos:[25]

33 Throughout (this) time (. . .) and (. . .) mysteries (. . .) Then (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .) of light (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . of the) **34** fathers of light. And he revealed to me everything which took place in the ships. Moreover, he disclosed the bosom of the pillar and the fathers and the powers of great strength which are hidden (in it . . .) and (. . .) the heights (. . .) he showed (. . .) this (. . . *9 lines lost* . . .

35 . . .) to be chosen and to appear to me, prepared and perfected in her teachers and bishops, elect and catechumens, in the meals, acts of piety and greatest helpers and everything that would happen so that this church of mine would be revealed, and for him, that (Syzygos), upon whom ([26] . . . *3 lines lost* . . .

[21] The Greek for 'I admire . . . many' (i.e. *CMC* 30.9–16) was not included in the 'Reading Text' of the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen: 1975: 35).

[22] The word used in the Syriac original might well have been *yḥydy'* (a person who lives singly) which is a fundamental term in Syrian ascetic vocabulary. Cf. Vööbus (1958) 1, 106–8; and Henrichs (1973) 35–39.

[23] The Greek for '(How will I go) . . . (poor and)' (i.e. *CMC* 31.10–20) was not included in the 'Reading Text' of the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen: 1975: 35).

[24] 'While these thoughts . . . so now am I advisor of your counsel.' (i.e. *CMC* 32.10–18) is suggested in the *apparatus criticus* of Koenen and Römer (1988), 18.

[25] Little is known of this witness with a distinctively Greek name. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384.

[26] 'and everything that would . . . upon whom(. . .' (i.e. *CMC* 35.10–15) these lines have been added in the Editio Minor with the placing of fragments 4b and 6b in this page. See Koenen-Römer (1988), 20–2 and pl. 1.

(Witness unknown):

. . .) the (truest) **36** unspeakable (knowledge (?)) he revealed to me, and I knelt before him and said: 'These things I beg of you, are they given to me and will they remain with me all the time, not hidden, but openly (revealed) through my hands and made manifest (to the) eyes (of all people)? So that the church will continue (to grow), I (request of you all the) power (of the signs), so that I might perform (them) with my own hands . . . throughout every (place, every) village (and city[27] . . . *1 line lost* . . . **37** and so that I might) bring (forgiveness) to those who have transgressed; and, moreover, so that no one might overcome me in wisdom, and I might be free of sickness and danger; and that the souls of the victors coming out of the world might be seen by the eyes of all men. Likewise (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) and moreover (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) the glory (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) and so that (. . . *4 lines lost* . . .); and moreover that when **38** surrounded by oppression or persecution, I might be hidden from the sight of my enemies'.

Then that most glorious one said to me: 'Of these gifts which you have asked of me, one of them is (given) to some of the brothers . . . in . . . to others . . . generation . . . were revealed (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) to see with the eyes . . . the gifts (. . . *3 lines lost* . . . **39** . . .) according to what is fitting for the generation in which you (Mani) were revealed, so that you might bring forgiveness of sins for those sinners who accept repentance from you and rely on holiness, that by releasing you might bring (release from) sins (and from accusations for your elect), and moreover . . . blame . . . repentance . . . And furthermore (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) belief (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) **40** Furthermore, if you ever summon me when you are oppressed, I shall be found standing by you and shall be your protector in all oppression and danger. These signs, which you have asked of me, shall be seen in me so as to be made (most) manifest to you. For I shall (show) everything by my hand and be (like a mirror to you so that (the) wisdom) is perfected (in you and you are freed) from illness. The signs are given to you through (. . . *4 lines lost* . . . **41** the mar)vels of falsehood, which have been set up in opposition to them; for through the signs of truth, those of falsehood have been brought to nothing.' After the most glorious one had said these things to me and had strengthened and emboldened me in my (apostolate, he disappeared . . .) therefore . . . reveal . . . when (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) similarly (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .)

[27] 'So that the church will continue (to grow . . . throughout every (place, every) village (and city' (i.e. *CMC* 36.12–23) these lines have been added in the Editio Minor with the placing of fragments 4a and 6a in this page. See Koenen-Römer (1988), 22 and pl. 2.

45 Baraies the Teacher:

Therefore know, brethren, and understand everything which has been written here, about the way in which this mission was sent in our generation, just as we were taught by him, and also concerning (his) body (. . . *13 lines lost* . . .) **46** . . . of this sending of the spirit of the Paraclete, and having turned away say that those men alone wrote about the rapture of their teacher in order to boast.

Moreover (he wrote) also concerning the origin of his body and also . . . of that . . . (. . . *14 lines lost* . . .) **47** (. . .) he sins. For let him who is willing hear and attend how each one of the forefathers has made known his own revelation to his own elect, which he chose and brought together in that generation in which he appeared, and has written about it and passed it on to posterity. One of them declared about his rapture, while those outside attended (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .) **48** (. . .) afterwards to write about and make known and to praise and extol their teachers and the truth and hope which was revealed to them. So, therefore, each one of them, according to the period and course of his mission, spoke what he had witnessed and has written it as a memorial, including about his rapture.

(Thus) Adam, first,[28] spoke with the clearest voice (in) his (apocalypse),[29] saying:

'I saw an angel revealed . . . **49** (in front of) your (shining) face, which I do not know'.

Then he said to him:

'I am Balsamos,[30] the greatest Angel of Light. Receive from me and write these things I reveal to you on the purest papyrus which is not perishable or liable to worms.'

(And he spoke) also of many other things which he revealed to him in the vision. For the glory round him was very great. And he also saw (the) angels and the commanders (-in-chief and the) greatest (powers (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .) **50** . . . and Adam became above all the powers and angels of creation. And many other things, like these, are in his writings.

[28] The Greek does not support the translation of Reeves (1996, 68 and comm. 69) as 'the first Adam'.
[29] On the *Apocalypse of Adam* and the Adamic tradition in Manichaeism see the important study by Reeves (1996), 67–109.
[30] Balsamos is almost certainly the Greek form of the important semitic deity Baal Shamin to whom important temples were dedicated in Palmyra and other cities in the Roman Near East.

Similarly Sethel,[31] his son, has also written in his apocalypse saying,

'I opened my eyes and I saw before my face (an angel) whose (brightness) I could not describe (for he was) nothing other than lightning. (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .) **51**. . . . When I heard these things, my heart rejoiced and my mind turned about and I became like one of the very great angels. That angel put his hand on my right hand and drew me from the world from which I came, and took me to another very large place. From behind me I heard a huge noise from those angels I had left behind in that world in which they (belonged. . . . And I) saw . . . men . . . (. . . *2 lines lost*. . . .)'

(Many) similar things **52** are said in his writings, and how he was seized by that angel from a world into (another) world, and he revealed to him the greatest mysteries of magnitude.

Again, in the apocalypse of Enos[32] it says as follows:

'In the third year and in the tenth month I went out to wander in the desert land. I considered in my mind the heaven and the earth and (all) works (and affairs), in what manner (and by whom) and by whose (purpose) they came to be (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) **53** . . . . . of death. And he seized me with very great quietness. My heart was heavy and all my limbs trembled. The bones of my back were shaken by the violence and my feet did not stay firm on their joints. I went away to many plains and saw there very high mountains. And the spirit seized and took me to the mountain with quiet strength. And there many great (sights) were revealed to me.'

Again he (said):

(the angel) (. . . *4 lines lost*. . . .) **54** (and he led me to the) northern (region), and I saw there immensely great mountains and angels and many places. He spoke to me and said, 'He who is all-powerful in supremacy sent me to you, to reveal to you the secret things you have thought about, since you have been chosen for the truth. Write all these secrets on bronze tablets and hide them in the ground of the desert.[33] Everything you write, (write) very clearly. For this (my) revelation (which never) perishes is ready (to be) revealed to all the brothers.'

Many other) **55** similar things are found in his writings which inform about his rapture and revelation. For everything he heard and saw he wrote down and passed on to all later generations who are of the spirit of truth.

[31] On the Apocalypse of Seth or Sethel see Reeves (1996), 111–40 and on Seth in gnostic and Manichaean traditions see Klijn (1977), 81–117.

[32] The writings of Enos or Enosh are rarely mentioned in Jewish literature because the author was alleged to have been the first idolator. Interestingly the fragment shows parallels to the role played by Anōš, the son of Šitil, the son of Adam in Mandaean literature. On this see Reeves (1996), 142–4.

[33] On parallels to the use of bronze or copper as a writing material for archival purposes along with its subsequent deposit in the wilderness, see Reeves (1996), 152–3.

Similarly, Sem[34] also spoke in this way in his apocalypse:

'I was thinking about in what manner all works came to be. And while I was considering, suddenly, the living (spirit) seized me and (took me) with great (force and) set me (on the top) of a (very) high mountain (and) spoke to (me) saying (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) **56** give glory to the greatest king of honour.'

And again he said:

'The doors were opened silently and clouds were divided by the wind. I saw a glorious throne room coming down from the topmost height and a very great angel standing there. The appearance of his face's form was very beautiful and youthful, more than the shining brightness (of the sun), and even than (lightning). Like the light of the sun (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .) **57** of many colours (like ?) a crown woven from spring flowers. And then my facial expression altered so that I fell to the ground; the bones of my back were shaken violently and my feet did not stay firm on their joints. A voice inclined towards me, and calling from the throne room and coming to me it took my right hand and made me stand. It puffed the breath of life into my face and effected the increase of (my) power and glory.'

Very many other things (similar to) these are found **58** in his writings, and also the things the angels revealed to him with the instruction to write them for a memorial.

Again Enoch[35] also spoke in this way in his apocalypse:

'I am Enoch the righteous. My grief is great and tears are streaming from my eyes because I have heard slander which comes forth from the mouth of the godless.'

And he said,

'While tears were in my eyes and entreaty in my mouth, I saw (standing before) me seven angels (who came down from) heaven. (I saw) **59** them and was shaken with fear so that my knees knocked against each other.'

And again he said thus:

One of the angels, Michael by name, said to me: 'I have been sent to you for this reason, that we may make known to you all works and reveal to you the land of the pious, and I may show you the land of the ungodly and what the place of punishment of sinners is like.'

[34] The gnostic codices from Nag Hammadi also contain a work entitled the *Paraphrase of Shem*. See the excellent discussion on the relationship between the various apocalyptic writings attributed to Shem in Reeves (1996), 163–81.

[35] Though no direct parallels can be found for these citations in existing Enochic literature, Reeves (1996, 183–206) has demonstrated that the Manichaean 'apocalypse of Enoch' is a composite work which has pieced together textual traditions, motifs and patterns from known Enochic material.

He also says,

'They put me on a chariot of wind and brought me to the limits of the heavens. And (we) traversed the worlds, both the world (of death) and the world **60** (of dark)ness and the world of fire. And after this they led me into the richest world which is most glorious in light and is more beautiful than the stars I had seen.'

He saw everything and questioned the angels, and whatever they said to him he inscribed in his writings.

In the same way also the apostle Paul; we know that he was seized as far as the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2) as he says in the letter to the Galatians:

'Paul, apostle not of men or through a man but through (Jesus) Christ and God the Father who (raised) him from the (dead).'

And in the **61** second (letter) to the Corinthians (12:2–5) he says:

'I shall come back to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ – whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows – that such a man was seized up into paradise. And he heard secret words which man may not speak of. Concerning him I shall boast, but concerning myself I shall not boast.'

Again in the letter to the Galatians (1:11–12):

'I show (you), brethren, that the gospel which I proclaimed to you, I did not receive (or) learn from man but (through a) revelation of Jesus (Christ.'

He became outside himself **62** and was seized into the third heaven and into paradise, and he saw and heard, and he inscribed this enigmatically about his rapture and mission for fellow initiates of the secrets.

In short all the most blessed apostles, saviours, evangelists and prophets of truth – each of them observed, as the living hope was revealed to him for proclamation, and wrote and has handed it down and deposited it for the reminding of the future sons of (the Holy) Spirit who would know the perception **63** (of his) voice.

In this way also, it follows that we should write about the all-praiseworthy apostle, through whom and from whom our hope and inheritance of life have come, and tell of him to all later people and members of the faith and the spiritual offspring who are increased through his very bright waters, so that his rapture and revelation may become known to them. For we know, brethren, the exceeding greatness of his wisdom towards us through this coming (of the) Paraclete of (truth). **64** (We acknowledge) that he did not receive truth from men nor from the report of books, as our father himself says in the writings he sent to Edessa. He says as follows: (*the excerpt from the Letter to Edessa (64.8–65.22) is translated in §51 below, p. 160*)

He wrote (again and) **66** said in the Gospel of his most holy hope: (*the three quotations from the Living Gospel (66.4–70.10) are translated in §46 below, pp. 156–9*)

In the books of our father there are very many other extraordinary events similar to these, which make known his revelation and the rapture of his mission. For great is this magnificent coming which comes to (us) through the Paraclete, the spirit of truth. For what purpose and what reason **71** have we dealt with such things, when we have been convinced once for all that this mission excels in its revelations? It is because of the reasonings of those who have clothed themselves with unbelief and think nothing of this revelation and vision of our father, that we have repeated from our forefathers their rapture and each one's revelation, so that they may realise that the commission of the (earlier) apostles was likewise of (this nature). For when each of them was seized, (everything he saw) and heard **72** he wrote down and made known, and himself became a witness of his own revelation; while his disciples became the seal of his sending.

5. Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community

At first Mani conceals his divine revelation from his fellow 'baptists'. This is followed by a temptation narrative concerning Sitaios, one of the elders of the sect's council, which Mani successfully resists. There are then various debates, (which must pre-figure aspects and attitudes from later Manichaean teaching and practice), before his final expulsion from the community.[36]

Baraies the Teacher:[37]

As for us, brethren, who as children of our father's spirit have heard and hearkened to those things, and have rejoiced because of them, let us understand his (coming) in a spiritual manner: how he was sent by command of (his) father, and the way in which he was born in terms of the (body and) how there came to **73** him his most holy Syzygos who separated him from the rule in which his body had been brought up. For in his twenty-fifth year[38] he was magnificently revealed to him. For, while he was still under that doctrine of the baptists, he was like a lamb dwelling in an alien flock, or similar to a bird living with other birds who do not speak the same language; for throughout all that time he lived always in their midst with wisdom and skill without any of them knowing who he was, **74** or what

[36] *CMC* 72.8–106.23; 50–74.
[37] The semitic original of his name probably means 'Son of Life'. Cf. Tubach (1997), 383.
[38] I.e. when Mani was twenty-four years old.

he had received and what had been revealed to him. Rather, they treated him with the respect due to him as a person.

Abiesus[39] the Teacher and
Innaios[40] the brother of Zabed:

The lord said: 'When I dwelt in their midst, one day Sitaios, the elder of their council (Gr. *sunhedrion*), the son of Gara, seized me by the hand because he loved me greatly and considered me as a beloved son. He seized (me) by the hand while no one else (was) with us, and going forward he (dug up) and showed **75** me great treasures which he had secretly stored away. He said to me: 'These treasures are mine and I have control over them. From now on they will be yours; because I love no one else like you, to whom I shall give these treasures.' When he had uttered these words to me I said in my mind: 'My most blessed father took me first and gave me an immortal and unfading treasure. Whoever inherits this will (earn) from it (immortal) life.' Then I said to Sitaios (the) elder: 'Our (forefathers) **76** who possessed these earthly treasures before us, and who inherited them, where are they? For behold, they died and perished and did not keep them as their own, nor yet did they take them with them.'

I said to him: 'What use are these treasures to me since they introduce errors and faults to everyone who possesses them? For the treasure of God is very great and very valuable and provides everyone who inherits it with life'. When Sitaios saw that (my) mind was not induced to (accept) the treasures **77** he had shown me, he was utterly amazed at me.

Timotheos:

Then after a short time I decided to tell Sita and those of his council some of the things my most blessed father had revealed to me and to make known the way of holiness. While I was considering this I had a vision of the whole world which had become like a sea full of very (black) waters. (I saw thousands) and tens (of thousands) sinking in it and drowning, **78** coming up and drifting round the four zones of the sea. I saw in the middle of it a foundation laid which was very high, and on it alone a light was rising and a path was levelled out on it and I myself was walking on this. I turned

[39] The name Abiesus, which means 'Jesus is my father', underlines the Judaeo-Christian background of some of Mani's earliest followers. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384. His name is also attested in Coptic Manichaean sources; cf. Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933), 28, n. 20.

[40] Innaios was the name of the second successor to Mani after Sisinnios. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384–5.

round and saw Sita holding on to a man who was held by someone else. He was plunging into the midst of the sea and darkness, having fallen and gone under. I saw only a little of (his hair), so I was deeply (grieved over Sita); but that man **79** who had thrown him in said to me: 'Why are you grieving over Sita? For he is not of your elect nor will he follow your path.' Having seen this I did not reveal anything to him. Later when I was speaking the word of truth I saw him contradicting my word.

Baraies the Teacher:

My lord said: 'I had sufficient debate with each of them in that rule, (arising) and questioning them (about the) way of God and (about the) commands of the saviour, (and about) **80** (ritual) ablution and about the vegetables they wash ritually and about their every law and ordinance by which they live.

When I declared invalid and denounced their teaching and mysteries, showing them how they had not received the things they followed from the commands of the saviour, some of them were amazed at me; but others were angry and in their wrath said: 'Does he intend to go over to the Greeks?' When I (perceived) their thoughts, I said to (them) kindly: 'There is (no value) in (this) ritual washing with which **81** you cleanse your food. For this body is defiled and is formed from a mould of impurity. Consider how, when someone purifies his food and then partakes of it after it has been ritually washed, it is obvious to us that from it come blood, bile, burps and shameful excrement and the foulness of the body. If someone restrains his mouth for a few days from this food, immediately it is clear that all these shameful and loathsome discharges cease and decline (in the) body; (but if he then) partakes (again of food, in the) **82** same way they abound in the body again, thus showing that it is from the food itself that they multiply. If someone should partake of food that has been ritually washed and purified, and (then) partake of that which has not been washed, it is plain that the beauty and power of the body are shown to be the same (in both cases). Similarly, the foulness and excrement from both are seen not to differ at all from each other. Therefore, it is not clear that the one which has been ritually washed, which he (casts) out and discharges, is any different from the (other) which is not (washed).

83 And the way you ritually wash yourselves in water every day also has no value: For, if you have once been cleansed and purified, why do you ritually wash yourselves again every day? From this it is evident that you become loathsome every day, and because of the foulness you ritually wash

yourselves before you can be purified. Thus, it is very clearly plain that all defilement comes from the body. Behold, you (yourselves) are clothed in it.

Therefore, (look) at yourselves and see (what) your (purity) is, (for it is) impossible **84** to purify your bodies completely; for every day the body is moved and calmed on account of the excretions of the dregs which come from it. Therefore, this thing takes place without the command of the saviour. However, the purity which is spoken of is the purity through knowledge; it is the separation of light from darkness, of death from life, and of living waters from turbid ones; so (you) may know (that) each . . . from the others, and you (will keep) the commands of the saviour (so that) he may redeem (your) soul from (destruction) and from **85** perdition. This is in truth the most righteous purity which you have been exhorted to practise. You have turned away from it and have been washed clean, and have adhered to the purification of the body which is utterly defiled and fashioned from impurity; through it the body coagulates and comes to take its shape.'

When I had said these things to them and annulled and denounced what they (strove) after, some of (them) were (amazed) at me and praised me and treated me as leader and (teacher). Yet (there was much) whispering in that (school) **86** on my account. Some of them treated me as prophet and teacher; some of them said: 'The living word is sung through him. Let us make him teacher of our doctrine,' Others said: 'Has a voice spoken to him in secret and is he saying what it revealed to him?' Still others suggested: 'Has something appeared to him in a dream and is he saying what he saw?' Others asked: 'Is (this) he concerning whom our teachers prophesied when they said, "A young man will (rise up from) our (midst) and will come (forward) as a new (teacher) **87** to call into question our whole doctrine, just as our forefathers have spoken of the 'rest of the garment'?"'[41] However, others said: 'Is not that which is voiced by him error, does he want to lead astray our people and split the doctrine?' Others of them were filled with malice and wrath and some of them voted for death. Others said: 'This is the enemy of our (rule).' Some (said:) 'Does he intend to go to the gentiles and eat (Greek) bread? For we have (heard him saying): "it is right **88** to partake of (Greek) bread".[42] Similarly, he says that to partake of wine and wheat and vegetables and fruit, which our forefathers and teachers strictly

[41] Perhaps a precedent for the Manichaean 'rest of the hands' (i.e. no harvesting, labouring or fornicating).

[42] We may have here a jibe about Mani's reading of the Letters of Paul, particularly through the writings of Marcion like the *Apostolicon* which is known to be heavily Pauline. There are innumerable Pauline

forbade us to eat, is logically consistent. Likewise also he declares the ritual washing we practise invalid and does not ritually wash himself like we do or cleanse his food like us.'

Then (indeed) Sita and his (companions) saw that I would not come over to their (persuasion, but that) I was little by little invalidating and denouncing their rule and their exclusion of food, and that **89** I was not practising ritual washing like they did. When they saw that I opposed them in all these matters, Sita and the majority of his fellow elders held a synod on my account. They also summoned the steward Patticius and said to him: 'Your son has turned aside from our rule and wishes to go into the world. Those things which we prohibit and do (not) eat, wheaten bread and fruit and vegetables, he does not adhere to and (says) that it is right to handle them. He (transforms our) practice of ritual washing. **90** He wants to eat (Greek) bread.' Then, because he saw their great agitation, Patticius said to them: 'Call him yourselves and convince him.'

Then they summoned me to their assembly and said to me: 'From your youth you have been with us and have lived correctly by the ordinances and customs of our rule. You have been like a modest bride in our midst. What has happened to you now or what has appeared to you? For you are (opposing) our (rule), and invalidating (and) abolishing our (doctrine). You have taken a **91** different path from ours. We hold your father in great honour: why then do you now declare invalid the ritual washing of our and our fathers's rule by which we have long lived? You are also invalidating the commands of the saviour. Indeed you want to eat wheaten bread and vegetables which we do not eat. Why do you live in this way and not comply with farming the earth like we do?'

Then I said (to them): 'May I never (declare invalid the) commands of the saviour. However, if you are (reviling) me on (account of wheaten) **92** bread, because I have said that it is right to eat of it, the saviour did this; as it is written: "When he had said the blessing, he provided to his disciples; he said a blessing over the bread and gave it to them." Was not that bread made from wheat? It also shows that he sat down with tax collectors and idolators. Similarly, he was invited to the house of Martha and Mary. When Martha said to him: "(Lord), do you not care about (me) enough to tell my (sister to) help me?"; the saviour said (to) her : "Mary has chosen the (good) portion **93** and it will not be taken from her."

echoes in Mani's writings, especially in his epistolary formulas and his concept of the conflict between the Old Man and the New.

Observe, therefore, how also the disciples of the saviour ate food from women and idolators. They did not separate bread from bread or vegetable from vegetable, neither did they eat by earning their living by labouring and farming the earth, in the way you do today. Similarly, when the saviour sent his disciples everywhere to preach they did (not) take a millstone or (oven with) them; (but) they . . . took one . . .'

94 Za(. . .)[43]

'If then you are accusing me about ritual washing, I shall again show you from your own rule and from the things which have been revealed to your leaders that it is not right to ritually wash yourself.

Alchasaios the founder of your rule shows this: when he was going to bathe himself in water, an image of a man appeared to him from the spring of the waters and said to him, "Is it not enough that your beasts abuse me? Yet, you (yourself) maltreat (my home) and commit sacrilege (against my waters)." Thus (Alchasaios was amazed), and he said to **95** it: "Fornication and defilement and the impurity of the world are thrown at you and you do not forbid it, but you are distressed by me." It said to him: "Perhaps all these did not know who I am, but why did not you, who claim to be a worshipper and righteous, respect my honour?" Then Alchasaios was affected and did not bathe himself in the waters.

After some time he again wanted to bathe himself in (water), and he instructed his disciples to (find) a place which (had) not (too much) water for him to bathe himself. (His) disciples (found the place) **96** for him. When he was (about to) wash for the second time there appeared to him the image of a man from that spring, which said to him: "We and those waters in the sea are one. Therefore you have come here also to sin and abuse us." Alchasaios in great alarm and agitation allowed the dirt on his head to become dry and so shook it off.'

Again, Mani tells that Alchasaios (had ploughs lying ready) and went (to) them. (The earth) addressed him saying: **97** "(Why) are you earning your living from me?" Then Alchasaios took soil from the earth which had spoken to him, and weeping he kissed it and embraced it and began to say: "This is the flesh and blood of my lord."

[43] The witness could have been Za(cheas), known to us as Abizachias in Syriac and Mar Zaku in Middle Iranian. Cf. Tubach (1997), 377–8. Za(bed), the brother of Innaios (mentioned above), is less likely; as he is not otherwise known among the early disciples of Mani.

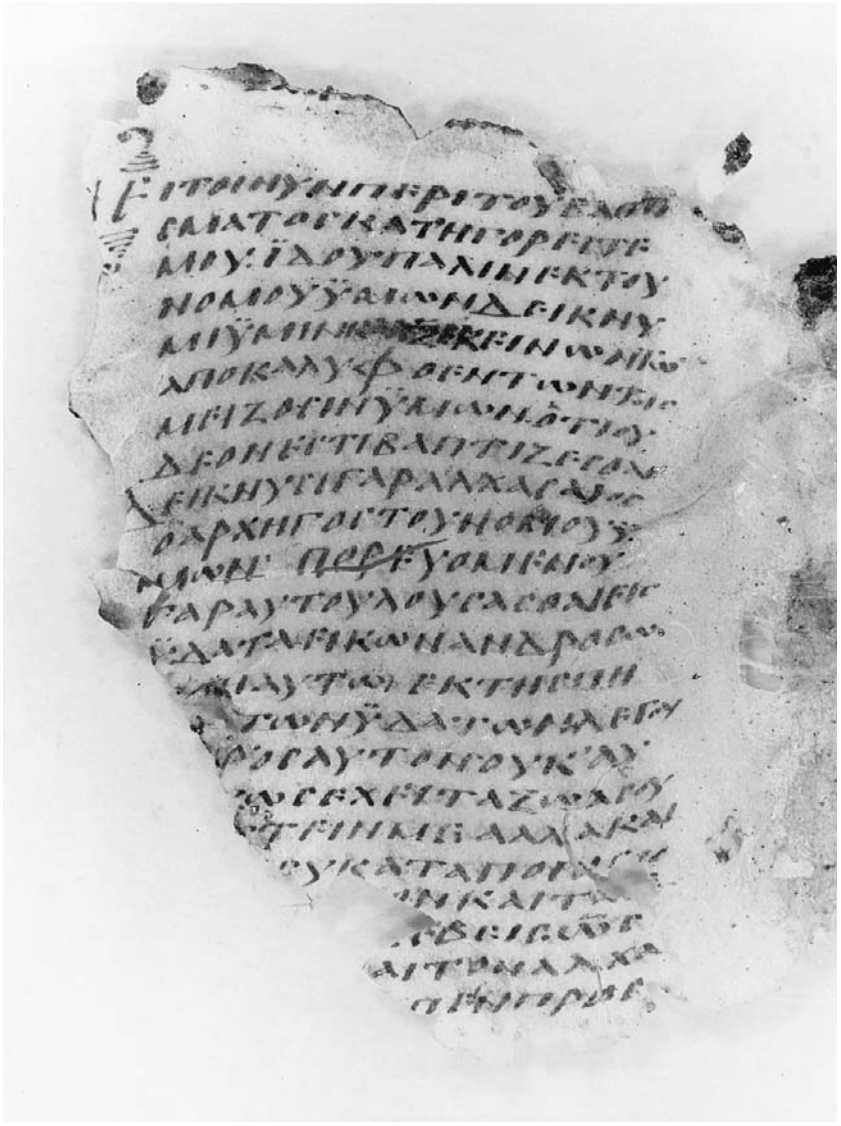


Figure 2.1. Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94

Again, Mani said that Alchasaios found his disciples baking loaves. At this the loaf spoke to Alchasaios who then commanded them not to bake again.

Again, Mani points out that (Sab)baios[44] the baptist was bringing vegetables (to) the elder (of the) city. And that (vegetable wept) and (said) **98** to him: 'Are you not righteous, are you not pure? Why then are you taking us to fornicators?' Sabbaios was alarmed by what he had heard and took the vegetables back.

Again, Mani tells how a date palm spoke with Aianos the baptist who was from Coche, and instructed him to say to my lord: 'Do not cut me down, because my fruits have been stolen. Let me be for this (year), and next year I shall give you (fruits) equal to those which were stolen (in) all the (other years).' **99** It also instructed him to say to that man who stole its fruit: 'Do not come this time to steal my fruit! If you do come, I will throw you from my height and you will die.'

Timotheos:

'Then I said to them: "Look at these famous men of your rule, who saw these visions, were moved by them and preached them to the others. In the same way I am practising everything that I learned from them."

100 When I had thus spoken to them and confounded their words, they immediately all became so angry that one of them stood up and hit me. They held me fast in the middle of them and beat me up. They seized me by the hair as they would an enemy. In bitterness and anger they screeched at me as loud as they could, as if I were a heretic, and because of the envy which had overcome them they wanted to (strangle) me. However, because Patticius, the overseer of the house, begged them not to commit sacrilege against **101** those who were amongst them, they had consideration and let me go. After this attempt had befallen me I withdrew myself to one side, took up the attitude of prayer, and beseeched and begged our lord to support me.

When I had finished my prayer and was quite sad, my most blessed Syzygos – he is my lord and helper – (appeared) before me. He said to me: "Do not be sad and do not weep!" I said to him: "How can I not be sad? (For the men) of this (religion), amongst whom I have been (since my childhood), **102** have changed and have become my enemies because I have separated myself from their rule. Where shall I go then? All religions and sects are adversaries of the good. I am a stranger and alone in the world.

[44] The name Sabbaios is clearly derived from Aramaic *sobai* which means one who baptises.

When in this religion, whose believers have read about purity, mortification of the flesh and observance of "resting of the hands", who (in addition) all know me by name and therefore (know) the worth of my body better (than other) religions, when therefore my body **103** was brought up, cared for and cherished in this religion, I also had contact with its overseers and elders, in relation to the bringing up of my body. How then, if these people have given me no room to accept the truth, will the world, its princes or its teachings, receive me when it comes to hearing these secrets and to accepting (these) hard precepts? How shall I (speak) before the kings . . . and . . . **104** of the world, and the leaders of religions? For, see, they are mighty and exercise power with their wealth, their authority and their material means; but I am alone and poor in all these things."

Then the splendid one said to me: "You have been sent out not only to this religion, but to every people, every school, every town and every place. For (by you) will (this) hope be explained and proclaimed to all (zones) and regions (of the world). In very great numbers will men (accept) **105** your word. So, set out and go abroad; for I will be with you as helper and protector in every place, where you proclaim everything I have revealed to you. So do not worry and do not be sad."

Very many were the words which he spoke to me, encouraging me and giving me confidence through his hope. I fell down before him and my heart rejoiced at the (remarkable) sight of that most splendid and sublime one, my most blessed Syzygos. (I said) to him: ". . . what . . . **106** For Patticius is an old man; he was shaken, when he just saw one single battle coming my way." Then he said to me: "Set out and go abroad; for, see, two men from that rule will come to you and be your companions. Equally, Patticius will also be the first of your elect and will follow you." (At that time) there came to me two young men from the baptists, (Simeon) and Abizachias, who had been my neighbours. (They came) to me, to accompany me everywhere, and they were with me as helpers, (wherever) we (went).'

6. The beginning of Mani's mission

CMC 107.1–147.12, ed. cit., 76–104.

107 'Thus, according to the will of our lord, I left that rule; in order to sow his most beautiful seed, to light his brightest candles, to redeem living souls from subjection to rebels, to walk in the world after the image of our lord Jesus, to throw on to the (earth) a sword, division and the blade of the spirit, to scatter the (bread) on (my) people and to overcome the (immeasurable)

shame which is in the (world) and . . . **108** I came abroad and into foreign lands, like a sheep in sight of the wolves, so that through me believers could be separated from unbelievers and be chosen, the good seed from amongst the weeds, the children of the kingdom from the children of the enemy and the descendants of the heights from the offspring of the depths; thus through me the Father might separate his own from strangers.

(At that time) therefore I was (sent out) according to the good will of my most blessed Father to travel about (in the world) so that creation might be (sanctified) by me, and so that (through) me **109** he might let the truth of his (own) knowledge (Gr. *gnosis*) be visible among the religions and peoples, and use me to make a stand before the kings of the earth and the princes of the world in order to take his own from all of them.

In this way I had left, and no follower of that religion had noticed where we went. We travelled about until we crossed and came to Ctesiphon. When I (could not get on further), the river (being high), (one) of the baptists saw (that I was staying there). When I (had left) Patticius, I had (not) said anything **110** to him about where I was going, and so Patticius was sad because of me and wept. He left and visited the surrounding synods; and still he did not find me. He wept and mourned, and the baptists stood by him to comfort him.

Then that man who had seen me came to them; and when he saw that they were in mourning he said to them: "Why do you (mourn)?" They answered: "Because of Mani, who went away and we do not (know) where he has gone. (We fear) that somehow (someone) will . . . him." **111** However, he said to them: "I saw him on the bridge, when I went over into the towns." When Patticius heard that he was glad and set off to come to me in Ctesiphon.

When he arrived there he did not find me. He went away again and made enquiries. Then he came and (found) me outside the town (in) a village called Naser in the assembly of the (saints). As soon as Patticius (saw me he stepped up, kissed) and embraced me, (and fell on the ground) before me. In tears (he said to me: ". . . **112** . . .) I was sad, because I thought you were dead and that I would never see you again. I said: 'Whom shall I call? Who will obey me? Whom could I see before my eyes? To whom shall I lament my grief or open the secrets of my heart?' For I had hoped to have you as administrator of all matters now in (my) old age. For (whom) can I trust more than you? I see, however, that you will not be with me. I have prayed (to God) that he will not destroy you! . . . of you . . . **113** sad (. . . and) for (love of you) the sighing of remembrance will be planted in my heart. For very sighing for you perhaps I will leave the world."

Then my lord said to him: 'Do not weep, do not be sad and do not worry about me! For you yourself will be with me. You will find ample grace through me; what you have done up to today (has happened according) to the will of the Father of Light. (. . . **114** . . . , to be revealed) means nothing; for they do not behave as they read in their scriptures.'

Kustaios, the son of the treasure of life:[45]

Again Patticius spoke to him with tears in his eyes: 'My son, why do you speak so? Just now with your words you have scattered and cancelled all (the doctrine). Your (. . .) your friends (. . .) of their midst (. . .) worthless (?) (. . .) the Lord (?)[46] . . . *seven lines lost* . . .'

115 (Mani replies): '. . .) without knowing, what had happened. For you have built the house, but another has come to dwell in it. You have become the horse for that one to ride, but another will enter the war with him and thereby complete his will. And you have made the robe beautiful, but another has put it on. (For I) Mani (. . . *four lines lost* . . .) the whole world (. . . **116** . . . *five lines lost* . . .) of that good (i.e. of Syzygos); for it is he who is my leader in the way that he wishes and is fitting. Recognise and be sure of this, that I myself shall not (observe) that religion nor follow its rule.'

Timotheos:

'So, I left the assembly (of saints . . . *4 lines lost* . . .) **117** The (*sg.*) . . . of that woman . . . When we (arrived there, we rested) in the garden of the . . . village. When they saw . . . , they said to that woman: "Strange men have been asking (us) questions; they will speak about God in unusual new ways . . . They are (. . ."'

Mani preaches in the garden; after 6 missing lines . . .) angels (. . . *2 lines lost* . . . **118** . . .) all . . . as they were in error (?) . . . their (. . . However, the woman) was amazed at (my) wisdom, which not . . . to her.

(Equally) Patticius was surprised; for he had never heard this speech from (me). He said in his mind: 'When I heard this teaching, I was (moved . . . *6 lines* . . .) of the humble (. . .' *5 lines lost* . . .) **119** They saw an apparition in the shape of a man (like) an angel of God, so that they were (all) moved at what they saw. (Then) that appearance of the man disappeared from before (them) and like . . . I followed. The . . . until (. . .

[45] The epithet echoes the title of one of Mani's: canonical works the *Treasure* (*of Life*) (see quotation given below, **47**).

[46] Cf. '(. . .) worthless (?) (. . .) the Lord (?)' are suggested new reading of Römer (1992b) 103.

after 13 lost lines Patticius speaks **120** '. . .) to reveal (this) to me. According to God's will I recognised who it is, that is with you.' In the same way that woman came before me, fell down and said: 'I thank God, who has made (. . . but you have come) here (so that) I might see (the greatness of the power) of God.' (. . . *seven lines lost* . . .

It is to be assumed that one or more quires with twenty-four pages each are missing here. In the ensuing story Mani has left Babylon and Media and resides in Azerbaidjan.

(Witness unknown):

121 *the first 3 lines are missing; Mani is giving an account* '. . .) but . . . I did (not) stay. In (the land)[47] of the Medes I went (to the brothers in) Ganzak. (There) was then a great famine.[48] When we came into the town of Ganzak, the followers of our brothers were concerned for the fo(od-supply[49] . . . *11 lines lost* . . .) **122** (*the father says to Mani*): "Who are you? (What power) do you have?" (I replied) to him: "(A doctor) is what I am." He (answered) me: "Come, (if) you are willing, into my house; for my daughter is being tossed about by (an illness)." I went with him and found that the girl was (unconscious) and . . . with (the illness . . . *after 6 missing lines containing an account of the healing, the father expresses his gratitude* . . .) **123** Although . . . other men were standing there too, (he fell) at my feet and said: "(Ask of me) what you will." I replied to him: "Of your treasures (of gold and silver) I ask for nothing." I took from him only (food for one day for)[50] the brothers who were (with) me.'

Ti(motheos):

Again (my lord said: '. . . *in six missing lines Mani gives an account of the appearance of the Syzygos* . . . **124** . . .) said: "(Consider the will) according to which[51] you came into being bodily, and the truth (which I) have proclaimed to (you). For this reason ambassadors and (apostles) will be sent at your command to every place, and this hope (and the) message of peace will be declared by them in every town (where) you wish to go."'

[47] 'In (the land)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[48] '(There) was then a great famine' : new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163. The 1988 edition suggests: 'There was at that place tin-ore.' On possible geological evidence for the earlier reading which may help us to locate Ganzak see Tardieu (1998), 257–8.
[49] 'fo(od-supply . . .)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[50] '(food for one day for)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[51] '(Consider the will) according to which': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.

(Witness unknown:

8 lines are missing; Mani is giving an account '. . . **125** . . .) When we . . . went into the middle of the mountains and Patticius was with (me), there suddenly rose up a storm, so that the sand whirled about and confused (our senses). I went in front of Patticius . . . Then he, (my) most splendid Syzygos, came to my side, to give me (strength and encouragement). Then (he said to me[52] . . . *6 lines lost* . . .)'

126 (Unknown, the) teacher;
(and unknown, the) bishop:

'(So then) the most blessed and radiant (. . .) raised me into the air; and took me to secret places, which are unknown in these abodes of men where (we live). He showed (me everything) that is there. (I saw) amongst them huge (mountains) and (. . .) neighbouring (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . **127** . . .) and unlike those which are in these lands. Between these and the very delight(ful and) sweet waters were . . . He (took) me on to the (highest) mountain; there I saw a (man) who had growing on his body hair which was eighteen inches long, thick and (hanging down) in full curls.[53]

When, however, . . . one of the (. . . *8 lines are lost; at the end of them the hairy man speaks to Mani* **128** ". . .) Teach (me) the message of knowledge! For that is why you have come up here." However, I taught him in (a cave . . .),[54] so that wisdom dawned in him. I (declared) to him about resting, the commandments and worship before the lights of heaven.

(Again) I spoke to him: "How did you get the (hair) of (your) body, which makes you different from (all) people? . . . to this (. . . *in six lost lines the man answers* ". . . **129** . . .) my (. . .) a tree (. . .) and I took of the best fruits. Since that time I have had this hair on my body." As I still stood there he was removed from me and went to that place where I had seen (. . .) the people. (In) that (place) he became a herald of (hope) and showed the (people) wisdom (. . . *7 lines are missing; Mani tells of the continuation of his journey* . . . **130** . . .) I (went) to a place, which was unknown and cut off from those towns. There was also there a crowd of people and (many) towns. Just as I arrived at that place the heavenly light of the day was rising and the king of (that) land[55] (was going) hunting. Then my most splendid

[52] 'he said to me': new insertion suggested by Römer (1994), 163.

[53] On the significance of long-hair as a topos in ascetical literature see the material collected in Römer (1994), 41–63.

[54] 'in (a cave . . .)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 164.

[55] Is this an account of the conversion of the Shah of Turan, which is well recorded in Manichaean missionary texts in Middle Iranian? See especially the Parthian fragments M48 + alii, *KG*, §2.2 (37–129) pp. 20–4. English translation in *GSR*, 207–8.

(and quite infallible leader and Syzygos) came to my side (and said) to me: "(. . . *6 lines are missing, in which the Syzygos apparently brings Mani near to the king and leaves him there* **131** . . . not far) from the king (and his) princes . . .) When the king and his princes saw me, they became agitated and (astonished . . . He beckon)ed me (from the throne to come to him)[56] so that (. . .) to them (. . .) When I had got nearer (to them), the king and his (princes) got down off their (chariots). I (stood before) him (and bowed in obei)sance[57] (. . . *8 lines lost* . . . **132** . . .) to him. Before (him I explained) wisdom and the commandments and (declared) everything to him.

(On not) a few days, when I was staying (there), he himself (with) his princes sat before (me). I showed (them) the separation of (the two) natures (and the doctrine of beginning, middle and) end (. . . *7 lines missing* . . .) **133** He treated (. . .) he accepted (everything) that he had heard (. . . from) me. After he had carried out (his) splendid work through me, while the king was sitting on the throne and his princes were before him, (this) most magnificent one suddenly flew down and stepped up to me, and . . .) to me. The king and his princes (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **134** Then) the king grew strong in (wisdom) and he was grounded in knowledge and faith. (Equally) his princes became (full) of faith. The king accepted (joyfully the commandments) which I had taught him, and (commanded) that they should be (explained) and (declared) throughout his kingdom . . . place . . . this and . . . after (. . . *6 lines lost* **135** . . .) and (faith . . .) From that time onwards this religion was preached to that place.

Then the most splendid one took me to that place where he had parted me from (Patticius). When he saw me he was very (happy, he kissed me) and (said to me): "Where did you go? . . . leave me alone? (. . ."

after line 16, eight lines are missing, in which it is possible that a new passage from another authority has begun **136** . . .) for I (Patticius) saw with my own eyes his strong power exceeding all visions that I might usually expect. So . . . My lord said to him: "You are one of his own." Then he took (him to places) very high up (and said): "I have done (this according to the) will (of your father); he himself (sent me) to you."'

(Witness unknown):

6 lines lost, Mani gives an account'. . . **137** . . .) until (. . . I came) into (a) village called S(. . .) and went (into the) assembly of the (. . .),[58] the

[56] 'He beckon)ed me (from the throne to come to him)': based on a series of new readings suggested by Römer (1994), 164.

[57] '(bowed in obei)sance' ((πρόσε)κύνησα) or alternatively part of a word to do with hunting (κύνη(γιο(ν))? Cf. Römer (1994), 164.

[58] On the identity of the sect (Magusaeans, Chaldaeans or Jews ?) over which Mani triumphed see J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu (1991). See also Römer (1994), 94–105.

so-(called sons(?))[59] of the truth. The head of the (sect of) unrigh(teousness)[60] said (to me: "The) exact understanding of the teaching (of our fathers . . ." *10 lines lost* . . . **138** He conducted a) disputation with me before the men of his faith. In all points he was (defeated) and (drew) laughter on himself, so that he was filled with (envy) and malice. He sat down, according to the (rituals),[61] and practised[62] the spells of his (. . .) whose (. . .) chanting (. . .) and full (. . .) spell (. . .) to (. . .) said: (" . . .) your (. . . *6 lines lost, apparently the leader of the group chants a spell against Patticius* **139** . . .) so that Patticius (. . .) is well." In this way he chanted (over him) conjuring[63] (. . .) wickedness. And so his intention came to nought. For as much as he himself (spoke) the (magic) words, my lord frustrated (his) wickedness. Immediately (that most infallible Syzygos) of mine, (flew down and appeared (. . .)

8 lines lost . . .) **140** in the (village . . .), where (?) (Patticius?) had recovered (?), (we went (?)) to Pharat, the town near the island of the people of Mesene.'

(Unknown), the teacher; and Ana,
the brother of Zacheas, the disciple:

(When) my lord and (Patticius the) overseer of the house had come (to Pharat), (he preached) in (the assembly of) the baptists (. . . *5 lines lost* '. . . **141** " . . .) he revealed his (king)dom to us.[64]" We, however, were astonished (at him) and were shaken at his words.

When the (hour of) prayer came, we said to Patticius: "(Let us pray!) For the commandment (of God calls) my lord (and us) to prayer (. . . Patticius, however,) asked us (. . . *the next nine lines of the account are missing; presumably the baptist asks Mani:* **142** ". . . Why do you (?) pray) differently (from us?)"

Furthermore, at the time when fasting (was over (?) . . .) he went out and asked for alms (before) the houses (. . .) He did not put (. . .) I said to him: "Why did you (not) partake the daily food?"[65] (. . . *11 lines are destroyed at*

[59] Römer (1994), 164 also suggests 'the so-(called guardians) of the truth.'
[60] 'The head of the (sect of) unrigh(teousness)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 164.
[61] 'according to the (rituals)': new insertion suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[62] 'practised': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[63] 'he chanted (over him) conjuring': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[64] 'he revealed his (king)dom to us': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165, but Römer also suggests '(perdi)tion' instead of '(king)dom' for a more negative context.
[65] 'partake the daily food': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165. The 1988 edition suggests: 'share (at our table)'.

the end of which a baptist says the following to Patticius: **143** "(. . .) this (. . .) is with your son as it is with the elders and teachers. (Earlier I) saw already (in) him, that he (with all) his wisdom, (intelligence) and exposition of the scriptures (bore witness) to us (. . .) that (. . .) in con(trast to) (the words) of our teachers[66] (. . .)" *if a new excerpt began in the missing part of the page, it must be presumed that in all 8 lines are missing*

(Witness unknown):

Mani tells that he went to the port of Pharat **144** '(. . .) In Pharat there was a (. . .) called Oggias (?), a man who was (famous) because of his (influence) and his power over the men.[67] (He[68] saw (how)) the merchants, who were preparing to travel (by) ship as far as the Persians and Indians, sealed his (wares, and did) not (put to sea), until he came on board. (. . .) When Oggias (?) (. . . *10 lines lost* . . . **145** . . .) him (. . .) to you. Then (he answered) me: "I want to (get) on a ship and (travel) to the Indians (so that I) get (. . .) if (I should) so (succeed . . .")[69] I said (to him) however: "I . . . you (. . .)" *if a new excerpt begins in the destroyed half of the page, in all 11 lines will have been broken off*

(Witness unknown):

Mani seems to have interrupted his journey in a Persian port and to have been visited by a missionary (?) from Armenia (?) **146** '(. . .) He had persuaded (. . .) Patticius (?) and (. . .) me and (. . .) had taken (. . .) with him to the Armenian town (.)isthar. (From there) he came to Persia to us (. . .) He said (. . :) "To whom (. . .) lord (. . .) father . . . **147** he has a wife (?) (. . .) for the (. . .) He (or: she) said: ("(. . .) once again (. . ." . . .) I said (. . . : "(. . .) from(?)(. . .) pro(fit (?) . . .")'

MANI AT THE COURT OF THE SHAHANSHAH (KING OF KINGS)

7. Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I

This passage (*Keph.* 14.3–16.2) is taken from the important first kephalaion, the remainder of which text can be found below as **90**.

[66] 'in con(trast to) (the words) of our teachers': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.

[67] Römer (1994), 165 suggests a probable alternative may be: 'a man who was (eminent) for his (philanthropy)'.

[68] Römer ibid. suggests that Oggias and not Mani might have been the subject in contrast to the 1988 edition.

[69] 'if (I should) so (succeed . . .")': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.

When the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on [5] was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has come to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour said: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. When the Paraclete comes, he can upbraid the world concerning sin; and he can speak with you on behalf of righteousness; and [10] about judgement; concerning the sinners who believe me not; . . . [70] he can speak with you . . . [15] . . . he can speak with you and preach . . . that . . . , the one who will honour me and . . . and he gives to you.

. . . preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he . . . he came to manifest the one whom he had known . . . [20] . . . the appointed time of all these years, as they . . . from Jesus until now . . . until he . . . and he makes them free. Yet, when the church [25] assumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like the month of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen in, to be harvested.

At that same season he . . . my image, I assuming it in the years of Artabanus the king of Parthia. Then, in the years of Ardashir the king [30] of Persia, I was tended and grew tall and attained the fullness of the season. In that same year, when Ardashir the king was crowned, the living Paraclete came down to me. He spoke **15** with me. He unveiled to me the hidden mystery, the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the mystery of the depths and the heights. He unveiled to me the mystery of the light and the darkness; the mystery of the calamity of conflict, and the war, [5] and the great . . . the battle that the darkness spread about. Afterwards, he unveiled to me also: How the light . . . the darkness, through their mingling this universe was set up . . . He opened my eyes also to the way that the ships were constructed; to enable the gods of light to be in them, to purify the light from [10] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the effluent . . . to the abyss. The mystery of the fashioning of Adam, the first man. He also informed me about the mystery of the tree of knowledge, which Adam ate from; his eyes saw. Also, the mystery of the apostles who were sent to the world, to enable them [15] to choose the churches. The mystery of the elect, with their commandments.[71] The mystery of the catechumens their helpers, with their commandments. The mystery of the sinners with their deeds; and the punishing that lies hidden for them.

This is how everything that has happened [20] and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; . . . everything the eye shall see, and the

[70] Cf. John 16.7–9+ff. [71] <the mystery of the sinners with their deeds>

ear hear, and the thought think, and the . . . I have understood by him everything. I have seen the totality through him! I have become a single body, with a single Spirit!

In the last years of Ardashir **25** the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place a good election.

Yet, also, in the year that Ardashir the king died Shapur his son became king. He . . . I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from **30** the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene, and Susiana.[72] I appeared before Shapur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey in . . . preaching the word of life. I even spent some years . . . him in the retinue; many years in **16** Persia, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans.

8. Mani's first encounter with Shapur I

Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871) 328, trans. Laffan. The material preserved by an-Nadīm comes almost certainly from the same Syriac source as that of the *CMC*.

'The Manichaeans say: 'So he went out on the very day that King Sābūr bin Ardašīr was crowned, being Sunday 1 Nīsān, when the Sun was in Aries.[73] And with him were two men of his sect. One was called Sham'ūn[74] and the other was Zakū;[75] His father was also present, observing all that was to be of his cause.

Muḥammad bin Isḥaq said: 'Mānī appeared in the second year of the reign of Ġālūs ar-Rūmī. Marqiyūn had appeared about one-hundred years before him, during the first year of the reign of King Titus Antonianus (Ṭiṭūs Anṭūniyānūs). Ibn Dayṣān (i.e. Bardayṣān) appeared about thirty years after Marcion (Marqiyūn). He was called Ibn Dayṣān because he was born on the banks of a river called the Dayṣān. Mānī claimed that he was the Paraclete, foretold of by Jesus – peace be with him. Mānī derived his doctrine from (the teachings) of the Magians and the Christians. Similarly,

[72] The travels which took place between Mani leaving the sect and his audience with Shapur are alluded to in the *Homilies* (91.1–11, ed. Polotsky) where Mani spoke of visiting many lands and crossing many seas. Unfortunately the relevant section is very fragmentary.

[73] The *CMC* (17.23–18.10, see above) has shown that this piece of synchronism is over simplistic. Mani received his confirming revelation in April 240 when Shapur was crowned co-regent after his triumph at Hatra. Ardashir was then still alive; he died two years later.

[74] I.e. Simeon, otherwise unknown. On the Syriac versions of his name see Tubach (1997), 377.

[75] I.e. Abizachias, see Tubach (1997), 378.

the script with which he composed (his) scriptures was derived from Syriac and Persian. Mānī travelled the land for about forty years before meeting Sābūr, having appealed to Fayrūz, the brother of Sābūr bin Ardašīr, who took him into his brother's presence.'

The Manichaeans said that when Mānī came into his presence, there were on his shoulders two lights resembling lamps. And when Sābūr saw him he was impressed and Mānī grew in his estimation. (Indeed) Sābūr had been resolved to having Mānī slain, yet when he met him he was overcome by admiration and delight, asking Mānī what had brought him to him and promising a further audience with him. So Mānī made a number of requests, including that Sābūr would show favour on his companions in the provinces and in the other lands governed by him, and that they could enjoy freedom of movement. Sābūr granted all of Mānī's requests. So Mānī was able to spread his message in India, in China, and among the people of Ḫurāsān (i.e. Khorasan). And Mānī appointed a companion of his order in every place. (329)

9. Mani recounts his travels

This kephalaion, entitled 'Concerning lord Manichaios: how he journeyed' (no. 76: 183.10–188.29), provides considerable detail about Mani's missionary journeys. Unlike most other kephalaia it is given an extended and clear context, including incidental details that contribute to the impression of historicity.

Mani is kept so busy answering the calls of King Shapur, (who does seem to have given him and his teaching some real protection), that a disciple wishes that there could be two Manis! The apostle replies that the world has scarcely been able to accept him alone. The phrase 'a single Mani' is characteristic of his style. He then recounts the trials of his missionary journeys, and the opposition of the authorities in various lands. The frank admission to a lack of success adds to the sense of authenticity.

Further, it happened one time while our master Manichaios, our light enlightener, was staying in the city [15] of Ctesiphon. Shapur, the king, enquired after and summoned him. Our master stood up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards he returned and came back to his congregation. When he had been a short while sitting down, before delay elapsed, King Shapur [20] enquired after him another time. He sent, he called for him. Again (Mani) returned, he retraced and went to King Shapur. He spoke with him and proclaimed to him the word of God. Again he returned and came to the congregation. Also, a third occasion, King Shapur enquired after and called for him; [25] and he returned to him once more.

Then one of his disciples made a retort, Aurades by name, the son of Kapelos. He says to our enlightener: 'Please, our master Manichaios, give to us two Manis resembling you; passing for you! Good, peaceful, and compassionate . . . disciples in righteousness like you . . . one Mani will remain with us as you; and the other go to King Shapur, his mind at ease, and proclaiming it to him'.

184 When our enlightener heard these words from that disciple, he shook his head. He says to him: 'Now behold, I, a single Mani, came to the world to proclaim in it the word of God; and do therein the good will that had been entrusted to me.

Then look, I, one Mani alone, have not been permitted to speak freely in the world; I . . . that I find room to fulfil the good will that has been entrusted to me. Yet, I have done the will of the mystery, which I preach in the living truth.

For the world loves the darkness; but it hates the light, because its works are evil.[76] Still, I, I have travelled so that I would do the will of the light, and spread the truth far and wide, in accord with what they entrusted to me. And, behold, the world bears down on me with . . . upon me with its sects. They give me no place to preach therein, and besides I am a single Mani. I came to the world, and they have not given me time to preach according to my will. They have not accepted me. On the other hand, if we do as . . . as you have spoken to us, what might we do then? How were . . . ? Rather, this . . . to you, and recount it to you.

At the time when I sailed the sea in the ship, I went . . . I found it necessary . . . the life that is with me in the world . . . I stirred the whole land of India . . . all the people who dwell in it . . . all of them to me, so that they might bear two to three times . . . in their land according to their heart . . . and the wise man . . . they . . . **185** set them against me. At that moment I ceased finding light, I ceased speaking freely with the voice that is of truth, which is entrusted to me.

Now behold, . . . in India. It may act against me in its . . . . . . and accept the greater ones and the counsellors and the satraps and the governors who are found there . . . I was difficult for it, it stirred not . . . because they belong to it . . . from all the sinners . . . . . . to me. I was more difficult for it than all these . . . did not accept me, and it persisted to . . . it. For the world loves the darkness; but it hates the light, because its works are evil.

I crossed the seas another time. I took . . . . . . India. I went up to the land of Persia. I leapt from the sea and went . . . the land of Persia

[76] John 3.19.

and its cities . . . in this living truth that is with me . . . to the light of . . . proclaim . . . the powers and the authorities . . . [20] . . . and the holders of authority . . . enlightener . . . in the land of Persia . . . body . . . because of this truth that I proclaimed, sitting in their midst . . . to one another. See [25] now, . . . in their land . . . to me the power. The Father . . . living . . . all occasions. The one who . . . to it . . . [30] . . . in the land . . . **186** how strong is it? (The land) tolerates the kings and accepts the satraps and the governors who are there. It stirred among them, it was not defeated in their midst . . . it was not able to accept the truth that I [5] proclaimed there. It did not . . .

I came out from the land of Persia. I went up to Mesene, the city that . . . in this truth that is in me, in . . . I proclaimed this knowledge; I separated the light from the darkness and [10] discriminated life from death, what is good from what is evil, the righteous person from the sinner. I proclaimed the path of life and the commandments . . . Yet, when they had heard the voice of truth and life, the ruling-power and the swarm of demons . . . [15] . . . and the race of mankind . . . under wickedness and hatred, they . . . they did not allow me, nor did they permit me to preach the truth in tranquillity, the way that it is. See: In . . . [20] for they tolerate the kings, they accept . . . and the caesars and the satraps and the governors who are found among them. Yet, the truth that I proclaimed among them, they did not accept it, and . . . they did not listen to the voice of life that I cried out among them.

[25] Again, from that place I came to the land of Babylon, the city of the Assyrians, and walked in it. I went in to the other cities, and spoke in this truth of the life that is with me. I proclaimed there the word of truth and life. With the voice of the proclamation I separated the light from the darkness [30] there, what is good from what is evil . . . the powers who are master over . . . **187** their envy to the heart of the kings and the leaders there. They and the sects of that place, they were set against me. Even as you yourselves see, they have waged some great wars with me. The lawless judges [5] took me, they watched. They and their rulers and their leaders took me in the midst of their land. If as . . . to me the protection of the Father, who does not help the lawless. Yet I, he helps me at all times against his enemy. Still, they would not permit me in [10] Babylon a single day to journey in their land.

See now: How great is the land of the Assyrians? It is able to tolerate the kings and accept the eparchs and the generals and the caesars and the governors . . . in it. It did not stir, nor was it defeated before them.[15] . . . but, on the other hand, to me, it stirred and was disquieted . . . It waged against me a multitude of struggles. Therefore, I left behind me the Assyrians.

I went to the land of the Medes and Parthians. At that place I played the harp of wisdom; I spoke in this living truth that is with me. The whole land [20] of the Medes and the Parthians stirred, it shook . . . , to accept the hope of the life that I proclaimed. Yet see: How great is the land of the Medes and the Parthians? Many cities are found there. It was able to accept the kings and the leaders who were there; but, on the other hand, it was not able to accept [25] the power of my truth. It stirred, it all shook just as . . .'

Then the apostle speaks to that disciple: 'Indeed I, a single Mani, came to the world. All the cities of the world stirred, they shook. (The world) did not wish to accept me; unless I humbled its rebelliousness [30] . . . I have subdued its powers and brought . . . all that were there. I have planted in it . . . I have sown this seed of life. I chose **188** a few from among the multitude . . . I, one Mani alone, came to the world; and . . . all the powers of the world stirred. A turmoil arose before me. And thus, if two Manis had come [5] to the world, what place would be able to tolerate them, or what land would be able to accept them?

I, a single Mani, did come, and walking on tip-toes . . . no place was found for me wherein I could stand fast . . . on the fullness of my feet, and walk on [10] the earth like everyone, and do there . . . all of you, pray to God that he might . . . feet henceforth, this single Mani, who is among you on that day, that . . . will happen . . . [15] . . . he might do the will of the living ones in the holy church. However, you, blessed are you if you make yourselves strong in this truth that I have given to you; so that you may be confirmed in it, in the life which continues for ever and ever.'

Then, when that disciple had heard these things, he says to [20] the apostle: 'Blessed am I my master! I, and all my other brothers who hear these great things from you, we know that we all are among the living. And we are alive by your advent to us! We have found the truth more than all people who are in the world. Who of us will be able fully to repay you for the goodness [25] that you have done us, our father? Only the Father who sent you is sufficient fully to repay you for this toil. For the recompense that you desire of him, the God who has sent you, is this: every prayer you entreat of the Father, may he grant you your prayer and your consolation.'

THE LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF MANI

10. Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd

The most complete account of the events leading to Mani's imprisonment, and of his subsequent death, is found in the source entitled: 'The report (or: recitation)

about the crucifixion' (*Hom.* 42.9–85.34). We here begin a series of passages from this text, which we have broken up into sections to aid the reader.[77]

The part of the recitation about [10] *the (crucifixion)*

(Then) King Shapur entered Persia and came into the city of Bih-Shapur.[78] An illness took over his (body) and a great danger overtook him. He reached the (time) of his departure. King Shapur died [15] and was sent from the world.[79] King Hormizd was established and crowned in his place[80] . . .

My lord went in to (the king and said to him): 'They call you "a good king" . . . sins. You give the means (lit. 'road') of life to (each (?) . . . [20] . . .) I myself, if you are willing, . . . me (because from) today (. . . up) to now I am with you . . . you are released / forgiven (?)' . . . [25] . . . he sent him . . . that he should go to the (Assyrians . . .)

My (lord) said '. . . Mousak (?)[81] . . . person sins against me and (afflicts me [30] . . .) Assyrian(s) (?).' Then he gave him / it to . . . Mousak (?) to bear a letter furthermore . . . Mousak to my lord: 'You . . . in a place (?) . . .' **43**

. . . that while my lord was in (Belapat (?) . . .) a good . . . gift . . . glorious greatness . . . from the heights through the Mind . . . [10] . . . the words of the gods . . . in the land of light. The matter of . . . of the (rich) ones . . . the richness of light . . . the angels of the blessing . . . The . . . songs [15] of the maidens; the form of the beloved . . . the glorious *Gospel*, (the *Book*) *of the Mysteries of Wisdom*; the king of every (writing (?)); the god of every good counsel; the (prayer (?) of) all the apostles; he who has been awaited by [20] (generations). He sealed it / himself with (. . . word(s)); with the first alphabet[82] . . .

[77] *Hom.* 42.9–50.17. All the citations from 'The report about the crucifixion', which are reproduced in this and the succeeding sections, are translated by Dr S. Clackson (and slightly adapted by I. Gardner). Dr Clackson wished to draw the reader's attention to the following points: the use of . . . (three dots) represents lacunae as well as illegible text, and sometimes . . . may represent more than one line of illegible text; the presence of numerous lacunae has affected the translation, and consequently the narrative is difficult to follow at times; whilst an attempt has been made to divide the text up into paragraphs to make it easier for the reader to digest the translation, it should be remembered that these paragraphs do not reflect the order of the original Coptic text; wherever speech can be ascertained, quotation marks have been added; in order to improve the flow of the translation, words and phrases which can be read clearly have sometimes not been translated if they occur in isolation, surrounded by illegible text, and do not add to the understanding of the narrative as a whole. She also wished to record her thanks to Dr Iain Gardner for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of her translation.

[78] The manuscript gives ⲃⲁϣⲁⲃⲁϩⲱⲣ, which is most likely a copyist error for ⲃⲁϩⲁϣⲃⲱⲣ (Polotsky). Bih-Shapur or Veh-Shapur is the capital of the province of Pars.

[79] Shapur I died *c.* 272. [80] Hormizd the Good only ruled for one year (272–3).

[81] The name (or term) Mousak is highly reminiscent of that of a grade of Manichaean priest (Sogd.) *mwz'k*, (Mid. Pers.) *'mwc'g*, (Pth.) *'mwcg*, (Chin.) *mushe*.

[82] The *Gospel* of Mani has twenty-two chapters each beginning with a letter of the semitic alphabet.

(. . . he) went forward, writing (. . . he) went to every land, every . . . he went on the river Tigris (. . . **25** every) place; all of his children . . . and his catechumens . . . every land (. . . with them) joined (?) to him, in one . . . church . . . **30** . . . **44** . . . **5** . . . from the crossing he came to the (Assyrians (?) **10** . . .) he did not move until he (reached) Hormizdakshar.[83] He wished to . . . out to Koushan . . . him to go.[84]

Then he turned (wrathfully), since he was (distressed). He arrived at the land of Ozeos,[85] and went . . . Hormizdakshar until he reached Mesene. **15** From Mesene he went to the river (Tigris), and he embarked for Ctesiphon. And when he had departed, whilst going along the road, he made (allusions) to his crucifixion, saying to them: 'Look at me and have your fill of me, my sons, because bodily I shall be (far **20** away from you.)'

He went away from those . . . and he went to Pargalia.[86] He (. . . that) place. He went with Baat to the (interpretation *(hermeneia*?)[87] . . .) his children and the (presbyters . . .) He gave them orders concerning every matter . . . **25** '. . . give heed to my books . . . look after my widows and my orphans . . .'

. . . to Cholassar;[88] from (Chalassar (sic) . . .) his disciples . . . **30** . . . **45** . . . For . . . that if he went to (that) place . . . **5** . . . he went with Baat in the (interpretation (?) . . .) came into Belapat, the place of the crucifixion **10** and the place in which the cup of the . . . was mixed.

When the Magi observed (them), they asked: 'Who indeed is this who has come (in?'; and they said) to them: 'It is Manichaios.'[89] When they (i.e. the Magi) heard (this, they shook) and were filled with anger so they went and accused (him) **15** to Kardel.[90] Kardel himself told (the accusations) to

[83] Modern Ahwaz on the Kharun.

[84] Mani might have contemplated fleeing to the eastern regions of the Sassanian Empire; where his teaching had found many followers, especially among the members of the governing class.

[85] I.e. the province of Susiana.

[86] Probably to be identified with Phalcara on the *Peutinger Tables* which is situated between Hatra and Ctesiphon. Cf. Polotsky, *Hom.*, 44, n. b.

[87] Baat was probably one of the interpreters as Mani was not a speaker of Middle Persian. He was also probably a client king, and his involvement with Mani's religion might have been a source of concern to the Sassanian kings.

[88] Cholassar is a city on the River Diyala and was the site of a Hellenistic foundation by the name of Artemisia.

[89] Manichaios is the full Greek version of Mani's name (Lat. Manichaeus). It was probably derived from Syriac *mny hy'* meaning 'Mani the Living' or 'Mani of Life'.

[90] Middle Persian Kirdir, the Zoroastrian chief priest (Mobedan Mobed). According to his inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam, it was his mission to rid the Sassanian Empire of heterodoxies and imported religions (*Kerdir's Inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam* §11, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1989) 58): 'And from province to province, place to place, throughout the empire the rites of Ohrmezd and the gods became more important and the Mazdayasnian religion and magians were greatly honoured in the empire and great satisfaction befell the gods and water and fire and beneficent creatures, and great

the (*synkathedros*.) Then Kardel and the *synkathedros*[91] went (and repeated) the accusations to the *magister*. The *magister* himself told (the accusations) to the king.[92] When he had heard these things . . . he then sent for my lord, summoning him.

On **20** Sunday, he (i.e. Manichaios) entered Belapat;[93] on Monday, he was accused . . . ; (on Sunday), the king issued an order concerning him and condemned him . . . Then my lord . . . **25** the greeting indeed (. . . answered) him (angrily): 'I swear to (you by my good fortune and my soul) and the soul of my (father . . .) living . . . you go upon the . . .' **30** . . . **46** . . . [5] . . . after . . . (-)four(-) days . . . called to (. . .

When) he had gone into (the presence) of the king, he met in the . . . **10** . . . As soon as the king saw him, (his face) convulsed (lit. 'loosened') with angry laughter. He said to him (a torrent) of words (lit. 'the multitude of his words'): 'Look, for three (whole) years (you) have been going around with Badia (?).[94] (What) law is it that you have (taught) him, so that he leaves our (cause) behind him and takes up yours **15** . . . the interpretation? Why did (you) not go with (him) when I ordered (you) to go with him and, furthermore, come (back) with him?'

My (lord) knew immediately that the matter was being distorted (lit. 'stretched') for an (excuse (?) . . .) my lord (. . .) his heart (. . . **20** . . .) the kings (and the) nobles, those from every . . . the glory . . . noble (. . . in) his presence. For, on that (day, **25** . . .) grief of his sister . . . the great (lady) who died at (that) time.[95] The . . . said . . . 'I . . . all the nobles . . . **47** . . . From whom did you learn that our (works) are more (honoured) than worldly things? For, from the first, (when) the Parthians were crowned, these things of (yours) never (happened) when the kingdom was in (our hands.')

(Then) **5** my lord said to him in the presence (of) all (the nobles): 'Ask everyone (about me because) I do not have a human teacher or instructor from whom (I have) learnt this wisdom (. . . from whom) I have received

blows and torment befell Ahreman and the demons, and the heresy of Ahreman and the demons departed and was routed from the empire. And Jews and Buddhists and Hindus and Nazarenes (i.e. Aramaic-speaking Christians) and Christians (i.e. Greek-speaking Christians) and Baptists and Manichaeans were smitten in the empire, and idols were destroyed and the abodes of the demons disrupted and made into thrones and seats of the gods.'

[91] A Greek term in Coptic, probably meaning a courtier or councillor.

[92] I.e. Vahram I (r. 273–6).

[93] Coptic Belapat (Gundeshapur) site of the most major of the Sassanian royal palaces and later see of the Nestorian diocese of Beth Laphat.

[94] Reading uncertain.

[95] The king was clearly distraught over the death of his sister Shapur-dukhtar, and was therefore not impressed by the appearance of Mani who once had a reputation as a faith-healer. See below (**11**) the account of the encounter preserved in the Middle Persian text M3.

these things; but when I received them, I received them from (God) [10] through his angel. (Word) was sent to (me) indeed by God that I should preach this in (your) kingdom since this (whole) world has been led (astray and has erred.) It has turned away in error from the wisdom of God, (the Lord) of all; but it was I who received it from him (and I revealed) [15] the way of truth in the middle of the whole (world) so that the souls of these multitudes shall be (saved) and escape punishment. For the testimony of everything in my hands (?) is manifest. All that I . . . existed in the first (generations); [20] but this is customary, that the way (of) truth is sometimes revealed and sometimes concealed . . .'

The king (said) to him: 'How was it that God revealed (these) things to you . . . God did not . . . us . . . not . . . though we are the lords of the whole land?'

[25] (My) lord (said): 'God is the one who has authority . . . Ask (?) the . . . power (?) . . .' The . . . asked him: 'In this way (?) . . . he revealed . . .' . . . asked him (angrily): 'Did he not reveal [30] . . .'

. . . he was silent (?) (. . . Manichaios said:) **48** 'Do (whatever you wish) to me, for I will tell the truth (. . . in) front (of you.) King Shapur looked after me (. . . and he) wrote (?) letters on my behalf to (all) the nobles (saying): "Watch over him, and (help) [5] him (rightly) so that no-one errs or sins (against him"; but) the testimonies are before you that King (Shapur) looked after me well with the (letters) he wrote for me (to the) nobles in every land so that (they) would look after me. Furthermore, when [10] King Hormizd . . . , I was with him . . . after King Shapur. You are the one who does . . . You yourself saw that Hormizd was greatly honoured.'

When the king saw that he was (persuading (?) . . .) every counsel and every defence [15] . . . reason against him at all . . . murder . . . whip(ping) (?) . . . he took the one which . . .

. . . He (i.e. Manichaios (?)) said: 'Look, o sun, you are (witness) to this . . . to me in his shamelessness.'

After this the king gave an order and [20] (bound) my lord. He put three chains on his . . . fetters on his feet, and they threw a chain around his neck. Some young men took him . . . before him in fear. Then after this . . . remembered that there were fetters on his feet . . . [25] . . . brought him (to) this place.

When he went in to the king . . . 'Where has she gone (?) . . .' . . . the king . . . [30] . . . **49** my lord himself . . .' . . . your head . . . or (else . . .' . . .) [5] the (king . . .) the good . . . follow her (deeds . . .) The king (said) to him: 'Reveal the matter to me . . . [10] . . . which place? Where has she gone? . . . or else she went . . .' . . . ; but the king . . . my lord . . . he

continued to remain . . . following his (deeds (?) 15 . . .) and the end of the world . . .' . . . but no-one dies now . . .' . . . to the king: 'I let (?) the ones of the . . . 20 . . . him and he caught one.'[96]

Then the king was silent . . . thing he asked him about, this is . . . '. . . the earth. You know that there are seven. What (. . . 25 how) many years does he have . . . and he perishes?' My lord said '. . . the whole world . . . in the number of the journey / return (?) . . . hundred years . . . 30 . . . After this the (. . . of the) whole world came into existence.'

The king once more was (silent . . . **50** . . . 5 . . . 10 . . .) He began to make suggestions . . . they were with him . . . in all ways. '. . . I was waiting (?) . . .' He said 15 . . . Sunday. Then . . . said . . .' . . . shall go . . .'

11. The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I

Though preserved only in Middle Persian, this account[97] comes clearly from the earliest Manichaean traditions which were contemporary to those of the *Homilies*. It is composed for an Iranian audience; and, interestingly, the persecuting King gave as his reasons for the imprisonment of Mani not the heretical tendencies of his cosmogonic teaching but the ethical implications, especially the pacifism which prevented Mani from living the normal militaristic life of a Sassanian grandee.

. . . (Mani) (**R**) came after he (had summoned) me, Nuhzadag the interpreter, Kushtai the (scribe?), and Abzakhuya the Persian. The king was at his dinner table and had not yet washed his hands. The courtiers entered and said: 'Mani has come and is standing at the door.' And the king sent the Lord the message: 'Wait a moment until I can come to you myself.' And the Lord again sat down to one side of the guard (of the window?) until the king should have finished his meal when he was about to go hunting. And he stood up from his meal; and, putting one arm round the queen of the Sakas and the other round Karder (or Kardel), the son of Ardavan, he came to the Lord. And his first words to the Lord were: 'You are not welcome.' And the lord replied: (**V**) 'Why? What wrong have I done?' The king said: 'I have sworn an oath not to let you come to this land!' And in anger he spoke thus to the lord: 'Ah, what need of you, since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this doctoring and this physicking? And you don't do even that!' And the Lord replied thus: 'I have done you no evil.

[96] This sadly fragmentary passage seems to have once contained a discussion between Mani and the King on the whereabouts of the soul of his recently deceased sister, and Mani appears to have been expounding his teaching on metempsychosis.

[97] M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949–50, (adapted). On this see especially the important study of Hinz (1971), 485–99. See also Puech (1949), 49–53.

Always I have done good to you and your family. And many and numerous were your servants whom I have (freed) of demons and witches. And many were those whom I have caused to rise from their illness. And many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of fever. And many were those who came unto death, and I have (revived) them . . .'

12. Mani's imprisonment and death

Hom. 50.19–60.2, trans. Clackson.

. . . he was reconciled and went to rest. Then he . . . **20** gave his followers (lit. 'the ones who belonged to him') orders about each and every one of (his) affairs. Firstly, he gave an order about his sons . . . habit, when they were walking with him, . . . '. . . justice for me (. . .' . . . be) leader (*archegos*) after him . . . **25** . . . among whom he will be exalted . . . 'Be strong and of right mind . . . do good deeds . . . and the (psalms . . .') **51** year . . . manage (. . . **5** . . . **10** . . . depart) from this world . . . the beckoning of the angels . . . he said . . . **15** . . . the man of light . . . **20** . . . the grace . . . **25** . . . he prayed / his prayer . . . **30** . . . 'O (my) father . . . **52** . . . every . . . iron . . . me . . . father, the (First) Man . . . listen to my voice, (I,) the one who is distressed . . .' . . . him weeping (. . . before) **5** his father so that he might help him . . . his voice. It was heard . . . the pure ones and the mixed ones . . . cry of his (entreaty . . .)

He said furthermore: '. . . **10** . . . the coverings and veils . . . my entreaty and my prayer.' He called . . . by his name and the angels in the . . . brightness: 'I call all your names . . . from his prison. Strip me (of the covering) of . . . **15** . . . from this world. O my father, the First Man . . . open the doors to my entreaty . . . fault . . . **20** . . . maiden . . . **25** . . . my voice . . . angel(s) (. . . listen) to the sound of my entreaty . . . my chains. Let . . . hear (me . . .) who are distressed; . . . **30** . . . **35** . . . **53** . . . prostrated[98] before (. . . the) great (*bema*.) O judge of (all) the worlds, (listen) to the prayer of the righteous. I shall implore . . . **5** . . . O true father of the orphans, the (husband . . .) of the grieving widow. O first one of (righteousness,) listen (to the cry) of the distressed one | . . . my saviour. (O) Perfect Man, virgin of light, draw my soul to you (from this) **10** abyss.'

'Shame the hated ones with your . . . you sent me to this place . . . the Mind of greatness, the essence of . . . You sent me and dispatched me (. . . entreaty) quickly. Save the prisoner from **15** the ones who have seized

[98] The Coptic web usually translated as 'to roll' clearly here carries the religious sense of 'to prostrate' as it also does in *PsBk* 2. 13, 27.

him. Release the bound man from (his irons.) Draw my spirit up from the . . . my soul from . . . he / it perished in the midst of this world . . . what I endured in it because of your (?) (. . . since my) [20] childhood. May your great power . . . your zealous (?) angels . . . guile and I put down my bond(s) . . . and I give the house to his / its lord . . . in his body.'

'Strip me . . . [25] . . . you. You have . . . they came into being upon the earth . . . the sects. For, whoever asks you, . . . before you, you should give him . . . calls to you . . . [30] you heard the . . . orphan(s); . . . your hope . . . apostle . . . [35] . . . he preached . . . **54** . . . desire of the world . . . until my old age. I found myself . . . name me with your great name [5] . . . is the apostle in the world. I see (?) . . . your glory . . . you are the one I call . . . do not be ashamed of me. Answer me, o my . . . my soul from tribulations . . .'

[10] . . . listened to his voice in the presence of the (king (?) . . .) which he sent. The power of . . . came . . . The gift was given to the apostle of light . . . apostle of this generation departing from the world, the great messenger of the land of [15] (the great) Babylon. The signs were revealed to him . . . world. His body began (to go to pieces); his . . . shook and made a sound, . . . his . . . began to change, . . . his image; they (were?) revealed . . . [20] . . . from his face and his (form (?) . . .) his limbs . . . went to pieces . . . like a house which is faulty, like a . . . amazement (?). He began to bend . . . [25] . . . his prayer, spreading out . . . his arms, calling to . . . angels and every land . . . in (everyone's) mouth . . . his eyes, while his tears [30] . . . gnashing (?) . . . [35] . . . **55** . . .

[5] . . . he came for him. She came . . . They were deposited / dwelled next to him . . . his great soul. They went to . . . the hidden . . . , to release him. His disciples . . . [10] . . . when they were entering . . . angels which were mixed with the glorious . . . , which had come for him to release him; but they did not perceive (him . . .) they perceived a voice. The voice rose . . . [15] . . . on the just one as he was about to raise himself up . . . while the (just one) was raising himself up, the great treasure (?), as he was about to / so that he might leap out, the apostle of light . . . the pearl of light . . . from the troubled seas . . . [20] its value and beauty . . . The voice of the honoured one . . . his saviour . . . the apostle of light . . . the great one, as it was about to leap to the . . . [25] . . . numerous . . . zealous (?) . . . the bound one . . . his feet . . . deposit / dwell . . . man . . . [30] . . . cry of pain . . . of his bonds . . . exalted pillar . . . the voice of . . . **56** . . . as the apostle was about to go (?) . . . leave him / it behind . . . [5] . . . Manichaios . . . Manichaios . . . his kindred. The body . . . the apostle, when he was going to put him / it in the . . . Manichaios, the apostle . . . [10] . . . his host and his . . . when his lord

and teacher was about to go and . . . disciple of Manichaios, the apostle (. . . called) them fatherless, orphans.

The time came and he prayed and was granted his (prayer. [15] He left) his children behind him and he left us in a . . . he made his road to the heights level for him. Woe, woe! . . . we did not sin against him and he made us . . . his head. He prayed in a pitiable fashion, while his . . . bonds of iron; tears flowed . . . [20] . . . eye(s); his hands in their (prayer (?) . . .) of iron; his heart in a great . . . his neck in the iron chain . . . he set foot in (?) . . . he stood firm . . . [25] . . . him praying and imploring . . . the ones below (?) . . . [30] . . . the voice of the (. . . peace (?)) while he was departing from the world . . . prayed for mercy from God . . . **57** . . .

[5] . . . came (?) . . . the ones who were to go before his soul came (?) . . . victory . . . The Form . . . demon(s). (The Form) has the (power . . . [10] . . .) apostle Ou(zeos (?))[99] The angels . . . the road of peace.

Then he was at rest (. . . he) fulfilled his word (. . . children). He was taken into . . . [15] . . . When he was seated on the bed . . . his image . . . It changed and it . . . and they were crying out . . . After this he asked for bread and salt . . . to him. He prayed for them . . . [20] . . . his children. He embraced . . . He said to them: '. . . greetings from me to (?) the elect and the catechumens, my children . . .'

He put his hand upon the . . . [25] '. . . which I gave (?) . . . [30] . . . you make . . . all of (you) . . . **58** . . . the lord . . . [5] . . . true . . . outside . . . mankind . . . after me.'

Then he stretched himself out (. . . his) bed. They embraced (him (?) [10] . . .) they embraced him . . . departed (?) and they cried out . . . weeping in front of him . . .' You are going . . . orphans after you (. . . [15] . . . Manichaios) then . . . then . . . betray you . . . today (?) . . . and he sees / saw your . . . set you upright (?) . . . you strengthened / your strength . . . [20] . . . well . . . closed your great eyes. She / it is beautiful . . . [25] . . . clothes . . . [30] . . .

59 that day up to . . . while his body was lying down and his . . . His eyes were fixed and still. Then three female (catechumens) of the faith (went) in to him: [5] Banak, Dinak, and N-(. . .) They sat by him and wept over him (and put their hands) on his eyes. They closed them because they were swollen. For when his soul departed . . . They kissed his mouth . . . [10] weeping over him and saying: 'O our (father, open (?)) your eyes and look at us. Stretch out to us (the right hand (?)) of your love, which is full of

[99] A possible reference to a disciple known as Ozeos in the *Psalm-Book* and Uzzi in Parthian texts. See below, **13**.

mercy and restraint . . . where are (they), the thousands which you chose and the tens of thousands who (believed in) you? Indeed, concerning truth and rectitude which you . . . **15** the earth. All the worlds should mourn you from the midst of (your) churches, and weep (freely) in your assemblies because you have borne witness to thousands.'

While their hands lay on (his eyes, they proclaimed) these things and wept; but he was (not (?)) attending **20** . . . silence. His speech failed and his tongue found itself sealed up. His mouth remained still. (O children of) righteousness, bless those women! (Give) them thanks and give them adoration. Speak / sing . . . because / that they closed the eyes of our father . . . **25** . . . among the enemies . . . they went because of fear of the king . . .

When the men . . . had departed . . . The corporeal ones . . . **30** . . . his soul . . . A voice resounded from (. . . , without) sickness, without infirmity. He . . . **60** . . . He came away and rose up (with the power which had) come for him.

13. Mani's entry into parinirvana

This Parthian account preserved on a Turfan fragment[100] is undoubtedly directly translated from Syriac despite its occasional use of Buddhist terms. It is included here as it provides, like M3 above, important details and parallel material to a fragmentary section in the Coptic which is derived from the same tradition.

(**R**) Just like a sovereign who takes off armour and garment and puts on another royal garment, thus the apostle of light took off the warlike dress of the body and sat down in a ship of light and received the divine garment, the diadem of light, and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew together with the light gods that are going to the right and to the left (of him), with harp(-sound) and song of joy, in divine miraculous power, like a swift lightning and a shooting star (lit. splendid swift form), to the Pillar of Glory, the path of the light, and the moon-chariot, the meeting-place of the gods. And he stayed (there) with god Ohrmezd the father (i.e. the First Man).

And he left the whole herd of righteousness (i.e. the Manichaean community) orphaned and sad, because the master of the house had entered *parinirvana*,[101] and his house . . . *parinirvana* (?) . . .)

[100] M5569 (T II 79), *MM* iii, §c, pp. 860–2; trans. Asmussen (1975) 55–6 (adapted).

[101] A Buddhist term signifying a blessed state of death in which the deceased is freed from the cycle of birth and rebirth.

(**V**) and (it was under) the rulership of . . . sign of the zodiac, on the fourth of the month of Shahrevar,[102] on the day of Shahrevar, Monday and at the eleventh hour, in the province of Khuzistan and in the city of Belabad, when this father of light, full of power, was taken up to his own home of light.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle, Uzzi the teacher[103] gave this testimony to the whole religion concerning what he saw in the cohort, for that reason that he, Uzzi, that Saturday night was left there with the apostle of light. And many pious commands from the apostle of light he brought, orally to the whole religion.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle of light, then the *Gospel*, the *Picture Book* (*Ardahang*),[104] his garment and hands in the province (. . . was brought) to Si(sin (?)).

14. Praise for the martyred Mani

Hom. 60.2–67.32, trans. Clackson.

This is the memoir from (the day of) his crucifixion[105] until the hour he departed. (On Sunday) he entered Belapat. On Monday **5** (they accused) him. On Tuesday they . . . he strengthened his church. (By the) Sabbath, he had been pursued and bound. (Afterwards . . .) all of his enemies. On . . . (they sealed) his bonds and took (him into **10** the prison.) He was bound on day eight of (Mecheir. Until) the day he ascended, for twenty(-six) days, he was bound in iron bonds. At (the) eleventh (hour) of that day he rose from (the body) up to the dwelling-places of his greatness **15** (in) the heights. He met his Form . . . of (the) lights. He came forth and leapt up (with (?)) the power which had come for him.

Behold this is how they . . . the statue rose up from the (temple . . .) shining lamp. It was brought . . . **20** . . . into the house and he rose up from the world . . . treasury, from the heap (?) of . . . the great holy righteous one . . . namely the world and all of the sects . . . enemies and rebels (. . . **25** . . . righteous) and peace-bearing one(s) from . . . between the

[102] Mani died on Monday, the 4th day of Addaru according to the Babylonian calendar. This is worked into the calendars of the various communities. Shahrevar (Feb./March) coincides with Addaru in AD 274/77. Cf. Boyce (1975) 47, *comm. ad* §p 2.

[103] Uzzi is a name of clear Jewish origin, cf. *MM* iii, 862, n. 1. He appears as Lord Ozeos in *PsBk2*. 34.13, and may have also occurred in *Hom.* 57.10 as ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲟⲥ) or ⲟⲩⲍⲓⲁⲥ). Cf. Tubach (1997), 388.

[104] In Coptic the term used for this extra-canonical work is the Greek loan word εἰκών.

[105] Mani's martyrdom was seen by his followers both east and west as a form of crucifixion *in imitatione Christi* even though he was not actually crucified.

demons and . . . come up (?) with the apostle of . . . the heights . . . [30] . . . it is . . . from his kin. He . . . good interpreter . . . I plucked / seized him from his . . . **61** . . . he came up . . . attended to (?) . . . the voice from the . . . was silent . . . proclamation. The great saviour raised himself up from the (worlds . . .) [5] the elect. The great faithful one went to (rest and ascended), he . . . The good (father) of the orphans (. . . The husband) of the widows (raised himself up), the teacher / writer of the writings . . . the psalms of the psalmists. (. . . from his) [10] slaves, the merchant from his (goods, the teacher from) his pupils, the (good (?)) planter (from) his plants . . .

With the last of all the . . . the apostle who had come chose . . . ; the apostle who had . . . the (apostles) [15] of every generation. The one who had come chose us (?) and released . . . the preacher of life. The (interpreter) of the land of the great Babylon; like an (arrow (?) . . .) from a bow, he penetrated this world and went out . . . like a hero . . . the (great) [20] inhabited world . . . this world (. . . from) the moon, . . . crowned like Sethel[106] . . . [25] . . . he begat them upon the earth and they blessed him, . . . and the powers. In the heavens furthermore . . . firmament . . . gods and angels blessed him and glorified (?) . . . [30] all the holy ones and the . . . [35] . . . who released . . .

62 . . . He went in and rested (. . . the gods) and angels blessed him . . . While his possessions were with him, he [5] . . . great (prisoner) who chose them for his (?) . . . the forms of flesh . . . at the time he rose up, because in the way . . . and the angels of the glorious one . . . he went and entered (that) kingdom [10] . . . Blessed is the one who went after him, . . . his departure and this glory . . . and he (did) not believe that his road . . . a vagrant's wandering; because he did not believe . . . the blessed apostle of light [15] . . . the body, they left it lying on the bed . . . chains of iron.

Then his fame . . . in the whole city. They heard . . . that he had risen. A (crowd) of people gathered together group by group and came along. Then [20] . . . He was brought out and . . . the prison. They gathered (together . . .) catechumen(s) (. . . who were established) in secret . . . peoples . . . [25] . . . he whom they called . . . benefactor . . . while they were saying furthermore: 'Woe and destruction . . . What sort of evil is it that is ready . . . that this good man shall die because of it in the . . . [30] . . . he did not sin indeed against anyone at all, nor did he . . . their property.'

[106] Sethel is an alternative form for Seth, the biological son of Adam. This curious phrase may refer to the Manichaean teaching preserved only in Arabic (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 332) in which an angel approached Adam with a magnificent garland or crown after he had successfully defended Sethel (Šāṭīl) from the arch-demon (Aṣ-Ṣindīd). On this see esp. Reeves (1996), 130, n. 7.

Then the . . . went . . . the king . . . the prison . . . [35] . . . the king, he . . . and he . . . **63** . . . in / with his eyes or in / with (his . . .) before me, he . . . [5] . . . he did not leave me . . . the king ordered . . . : 'and (take) him . . . in the middle of . . . spread it under him . . . clothing and his (cloak (?)' . . .) [10] they took his bonds from him, wishing to . . . the third Sunday . . . his enemies. They (. . . [15] he was) lying down spread out . . . in the presence of them all . . . grief / grieved, while he lay on the (clothing (?) . . .) the great . . . rolled . . . just . . . thrown down . . . [20] . . . [25] . . . **64** . . . after them with their hands . . . good . . . [5] . . . they said to your . . . they began . . . [10] . . . truly.

This is the manner of his coming . . . he prayed . . . he called . . . he took (?) his . . . [15] . . . the king. They feared (?) . . . [20] . . . a man . . . slave . . . [25] . . . [30] . . . (**65–6** *too badly preserved to be translated*)

67 . . . world(s) in the . . . they were like . . . you in (a) house (?) . . . [5] . . . your custom . . . mysteries . . . they took it to the house of Athimar . . . [10] . . . of the faith. (All) those of his house . . . they went to Persis.[107] For . . . accuser . . . when peace . . . they took it to Ctesiphon . . . [15] . . . left her / it with his bones.

They were . . . justice. His affair needed to (. . . fell) away from us. He hid . . . it was revealed; but whoever . . . namely the sins of his . . . [20] . . . for from this time . . . they put him in a . . . place . . . complete justice . . . like the apostles . . . himself furthermore while he was in (the) body . . . [25] . . . for all of these . . . for his writings and . . . he said: 'The three things to be remembered . . . my gospel, my . . . be glorified eternally. There are many . . . [30] . . . and they swear on my happiness . . . on him, in every (land . . .) I condemned (?) myself . . .'

15. The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles

Hom. 67.34–70.34, trans. Clackson.

. . . and he found . . . us in the (world . . . [35] . . .) truth . . . **68** . . . of God . . . apostle . . . [5] . . . gods and (. . . afflictions) and shame (. . . from) this place. While the man . . . he supported him / endured it amid . . . [10] . . . which they support / endure . . . and they carry / carried . . . first . . . of the flesh . . . from Eve, his true sister . . . For . . . he

[107] Persis is the Greek form of the name of the Sassanian province of Pars (Fars). It does not stand for the whole of the Persian Empire.

fell three (times . . . **15** . . .) Adam, he spent three hundred and seventy-three . . . from Cain and all his race . . . Enosh, Sem, Shem[108] and these other . . . bad . . . ; four hundred thousand just . . . years of Enoch . . . [109]

20 . . . when they had gone down . . . to India. Afflictions (befell them . . .) all of the apostles.[110] What is . . . *bema* . . . reached this . . . laughed at him. Furthermore, when the . . . **25** . . . they did not destroy / release him . . . crucified some thieves . . . because they made him drink gall . . . his clothes on themselves . . . blood from their lances, and they (. . . **30** the son) of our God . . . apostle(s) . . . after him . . . **35** . . . 'Crucify us' (?) . . . the son . . . Zebedee[111] . . . **5** . . . he went (?) . . . raised them up . . . assembly in the . . . for (?) the bad things and the persecutions . . . **10** waters and seas . . . the things which his (disciples suffered at the hands) of persecutors in every (land) are bad. (There is one (disciple)) whose skin was scraped from the soles of his feet . . . cauldron, he was set over (it and a fire was kindled **15** under) him. There is one who was thrown into a copper (kettle) and fire was lit beneath it (until the water) boiled. He cried out, sounding like a . . . There is one who was flayed . . . There is one whose . . . were plucked **20** out.

Behold these (men) have / were revived . . . and these afflictions befell (them) . . . abroad . . . their bodies fell . . . and trees. Their bones were (scattered in every) **25** land. Wolves and lions . . . their forms. Behold Paul . . . lord(s), when he had made signs and (. . . how many) did he endure? How many did he see . . . on the sea and the dry(-land) (. . . the) **30** inner ones and the outer ones . . . put him into a basket and let him down (through a) window away from the Jews[112] . . . destruction overtook him. He put the garment (. . . twelve (?)) (loaves) of bread, he ate **35** . . . **70** . . . the prayer . . .

Zarathustra[113] furthermore . . . him from the Persians . . . him before the king **5** . . . how many from the . . . he revealed in . . . God (?) . . . because

[108] Shem is the son of Noah. The forms Shem and Sem seem to alternate in Coptic lists; but they are found together in a Middle Persian fragment of a Manichaean "Book of Enoch" which may be part of the canonical *Book of the Giants* (M299a R 5, cf. Henning (1934), 27). This would indicate that the 'Sem-Shem' doublet (which must refer to the same figure) goes back to the original Syriac writings of Mani. Passages from the Apocalypse of Sem are cited in the *CMC* (55.9–57.21).

[109] The listing of names of antediluvian heroes is common in Manichaean literature. Cf. *Keph*. 12.9–12 and *PsBk2*. 142.3–9. Note the appearance of Enoch here after the Noahides: an inverted chronological order, which is also observed in the presentation of apocalyptic material in the *CMC* (48.16–60.12). Cf. Reeves (1996), 28, n. 73.

[110] I.e. those of Jesus.

[111] I.e. the apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

[112] I.e. the escape of the apostle Paul from his enemies at Damascus (2 Cor. 11.33).

[113] The material presented by the Manichaeans on the death of Zarathustra is otherwise unattested.

this is the way in a (. . . the) two (natures) which fight with (one another) . . . [10] . . . in this way. He lifted up . . .

Yet, furthermore, (the) matter of his body, . . . more than all the apostles. Behold . . . his body so that they would not throw it . . . Behold Zarathustra, as it is written . . . [15] . . . on the tombs of the kings. Behold . . . they covered his body with perfumes (?) and . . . clothing. They lay him out in honour . . . in the land of the Indians, and . . . they put him in the clouds . . . [20] . . . with them swearing (that) while his bones . . . every (apostle) who had been . . . if they . . . from the world . . . champion, they would not put their bodies . . . [25] . . . they wept over them and grieved . . . the one who would see the place of burial . . . and remember him for a good . . . his shame is revealed . . . every generation. He bound you . . . [30] . . . the people stumbled and knew . . . of our father . . . generations (are) worthy . . . denier . . .

16. The institution of the bema

Hom. 71.2–73.34, trans. Clackson. In the Manichaean cultus the *bema* is a platform with five steps on which is placed an effigy of Mani, and to which his followers paid their homage on the day when his death was commemorated.

71 . . . custom and his place of . . . matter furthermore of his *bema* . . . [5] . . . sacrifice (?) . . . will see his seating-place . . . he did not think (?) that he was going to leave his (. . . and) they (would (?)) manage furthermore . . . [10] . . . and this other one besides . . . seating-place of . . . place (where) he was established . . . he proclaimed his wisdom. The (place(?) . . . revealed). The place (where) he (prayed [15] . . .) the place where his crucifixion . . . his body there. The place . . . sitting. The place . . . the one who did not see (?) saw (?) him . . . he remembered the goodness (. . . [20] what) he preached . . . their kind. If we see his (*bema* (?) . . . we sit) and weep over it because . . . his statue . . . they depicted . . . [25] the ones who crucified him . . . battlefields (?) . . .

72 . . . This year . . . strengthened his *bema* which is . . . [5] . . . persecutor and the enemies . . . which he put down . . . apostle(s) in him / it. In the generation . . . feast-days and (observances . . .) Christians. They . . . [10] . . . about him. In the month . . . in which he (was crucified . . .) but what will we do (. . . ?) They mix their fast . . . sects fast and sin . . . [15] . . . find their hands spread out . . . my (?) beasts. Beasts . . . we fast . . . the sects. They give their sins . . . furthermore their fast; they [20] . . . greatly, in the blessed . . . feast-(days) and observances (. . . revealed) through it;

at present . . . but they go in them . . . blessed . . . [25] . . . good, according to (?) . . . of the trumpet . . . observances . . . **73** . . . year to year . . . [5] . . . the fire . . . fast which . . . idols in . . . [10] . . . hindrance there (?).

There are some . . . fast and they spread out their beds . . . These are the laws of the sects . . . world(s), the ones which fast . . . they sin and they stumble in . . . [15] Yet, furthermore, he appointed (?) his day . . . all the . . . of good. The other fast (which . . .) is excellent and . . . victory. Its bearing . . . of those who deny . . . [20] . . . neither tree nor . . . offence / wound (?) happened . . . their calm . . . defilement, with psalms . . . [25] prayers and blessings; with eyes (?) . . . called to God with . . . our father, our saviour, the one who . . . is (the) day of restraint . . . repaid us with foolishnesses . . . [30] . . . which they would write . . . name (?). Blessed is the one who (shall) believe . . . the one who shall hunger for . . . Blessed is the . . .

17. The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah

This Parthian text from Turfan,[114] which is undoubtedly translated originally from Syriac, is significant for its use of material from the account of the crucifixion in Tatian's *Diatessarōn*. The Manichaeans would have consulted this gospel harmony in its Syriac version.

{page header} *Discourse on the Crucifixion*

. . . and he (Mani?) was unconscious and died. Such was the *parinirvana* of (our) father, as was written. No one should contemplate on anything more wonderful. Absolve us from all that had happened to him. As we all know when Jesus the Messiah, the lord of us all, was crucified; it was attested about him that they seized him like a evil-doer. They also dressed him in a (purple) cloak and placed a cane in his hand. And they paid reverence to him and (mockingly (?)) spoke: ('. . . King), our Christ!' And they then led (him) to the cross (?) . . . he was delivered to them, but if not . . . there are also others who (departed (?) from this world) through crucifixion. Many there (are . . .) who were put (to death) by the sword . . . And there are those who went to distant lands and were killed when they got there. Every one of these messengers was well known, for (we (?)) are told about them: what they have endured and through what form of crucifixion (i.e. execution) they departed from this world. They also had some disciples who were thrown to the animals and others who were evicted from land

[114] M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9, trans. S. Lieu.

to land. They were like strangers and enemies to the whole world and they were called the "deceived ones" and "ruined ones" in the whole world. And many are the temptations (?) . . . and they endured . . . (and) (?) themselves also taught . . . alms. Even as our father, the (beneficent . . .) our . . . living, so also the Jews (similarly desired) to remove <him> from the world, as it is shown that at dawn, the teachers, the (Jewish) priests, the scribes and the religious leaders deliberated (cf. Luke 22:66) and took counsel from each other to kill him (cf. Matt. 27:1). And they sought (false witnesses) (cf. Matt. 26:59), but their testimony did not agree with each other (cf. Mark 14:59). They brought forward two others (cf. Matt. 26:60) and they said: "This man had declared: 'I am able to destroy the temple (lit. palace) which is built with hands and in three days build another one built without hands (cf. Mark 14:58).'" Their testimonies also do not tally (cf. Mark 14:59), and the High Priest asked him, saying: "I demand of you, on oath to the living God, that you tell me, whether you are the Christ, the son of (God, the living (?))" (cf. Matt. 26:63). Jesus said to him, "First, you yourself have said that I am it (cf. Matt. 26:64) . . . (truly) appears; but from now on you will see the Son of Man as he sits on the right side of divine power (and) when he will come in the (chariot) from heaven" (cf. Matt. 26:64). Then the High Priest of the Jews (tore) his garment and said (cf. Mark 14:63): "To me" . . . and they spoke to one another: ". . . the testimony which is desired. We have heard again (?) (the blasphemy) from his own very lips (cf. Luke 22:71) (. . . thereupon) it is necessary to kill him" (cf. Matt. 26:66) . . . Pilate . . .

18. The death of Mani commemorated in two bema *psalms*

PsBk2. 14.18–20.17 (psalms 225 and 226), ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (adapted I. Gardner).[115]

14 (Psalm) 225

By the lord Syrus.[116]

. . . your daughter, the church; the Paraclete,
our merciful . . .

[115] All the extracts from *PsBk2.* (ed. and trans. Allbery), which are reproduced in this volume, have been adapted to the common style, including uniform translation of technical terms; they also take into account improved readings based on later scholarship (or occasionally on parallel texts found at Ismant el-Kharab), and they may have been rearranged according to strophes.

[116] Who the lord Syrus (author of this Psalm) was is not known.

To whom can I go, widow? For they are slanderers,
all of them, . . . Who among them will wipe away my
. . . from me (?) upon the earth? They are
slanderers . . . murderers. Alas, alas for
the violence that is done: for they run after me like wolves
that run after a lamb.

How many shadows, how many falls . . .
fear . . .
desert me . . . holy . . .
. . . to do violence; but do not desert
15 me, my blessed king who knows my
heart.

I was escaping from the wastes, my hair loosed like a
mad woman, I asking everyone that comes upon me:
'Who will give me word of my shepherd;
and teach me how he was slain in the godless city by
the lawless sects, the beasts
that were maddened by the poison of their flames of fire?'

I have heard concerning you Magians, the priests of the fire,
that you seized my god in your foul hands;
impious men, mad and godless,
the brothers of the Jews, the murderers of Christ.
A fire took hold of your heart,
until you had murdered the righteous ambassador.

Lo, these are the deeds that are full of outrage, of
bitter-hearted men.
This is the road they have made that will lead them
to hell.
I have not seen a beast branded like these,
nor again have I seen fire consuming chaff . . .
Yet, there was found no merciful man standing up
to snatch from them this sinless and righteous one.

They all cried out with one voice to the godless judge,
telling him words in which there was no truth:
'Lo, a man has appeared in these days,
fighting with us and bringing our affairs to nought.

We implore thee with one accord, o king,
do away with him, for he is a teacher who leads
men astray.'

When he heard these words, the foolish man, the king of these pitiless ones,
he was astonished, the evil-fated, the evil-doer:
he sent, he called my shepherd,
he says to him wrathfully in a mighty voice:
'Who bade you do these things,
or who are you? You do deeds that harm all people.'

16 The glorious mind answered, and says to him straightly:
'Know, o king, that God has given into your hand, you being human.
The law of life . . .
. . . the perfect commandments of Christ. My doctrines . . .
. . .
. . . to you.'

He parted his lips, he cried out in a
. . .
'will appear to you. You are a lowly stranger . . .
a poor man, lacking everything. You are a person of . . .
. . . to give this favour and gift
unutterable.'

'They that are of God seek not after gold and the possessions of the world.
God it is who commands, there is no other commandment but his.
God it is who teaches whom he pleases
(and gives to him) the gift that surpasses all gifts,
as a seal . . . prophet,
the true man of God in his deeds and his words.'

The lover of fighting, the peaceless one, roared in flaming anger;
he commanded them to fetter the righteous one,
that he might please the Magians,
the teachers of Persia, the servants of fire.
In truth, this is the way that they gave judgment
upon the victor, the angel, the Paraclete.

How many days of fear, my father, did you endure;
until you had cut and severed the race of frightful men!
Twenty-six days in all, and the nights of them,
you did spend in chains in Belapat.
O the renown of the aeons of light!
O noble holy image of the mysteries of God!

O hands that gave freedom to a multitude of souls,
that were bound today in bonds of iron!
To whom shall I go now,
that he may release for me these hands of pity?
My God, forsake me not,
for my enemies (all) mock (me . . .)

17 . . . my lord Manichaios, the judge of this totality,
. . . pitiless . . . ; you have . . .
your joyous wings. First you did pray unto (God
your) Father, but the dead body you cast down (before
the
face of) your enemies.

. . . the nature of deception . . .
the cruel . . . , the sign . . .
he desired in the madness of his wrath, in . . .
to destroy the beauty of your limbs. You ascended in . .
. . . to the heights without any hindrance.

He raged (?), even the murderous demon, he . . .
. . . saying: 'Perchance it is a drug which you have . . .
forth'. He commanded the physicians and . . .
to examine the body, your holy body, which
he mocked and plotted against; he kindled fire in
a great furnace.

The dragon that lives to his shame and all the . . .
of his . . .
. . .
the keeps of the gates of the city. He spilled his blood
to no purpose; his murder became a sign for every person
who
pities him.

On the second day of the week, you received the glory of victory,
you bound the diadem upon your head;
for you killed the race of darkness,
in the month Phamenoth, on the fourth day of the moon.
You received your crown. O my father, the victor in the war;
be merciful unto me, I entreat you, the Paraclete.

O witness of the ineffable benefactions of the first Christ,
the sign of the soul whose fame has spread to the earth;
it is fitting for you to receive this crown, our father,
in joyous feasts and vigils.

The victory to you, our lord Mani the living;
victory too to your *bema*, the glorious and blessed;
18 and the soul of Maria, Theona.

(Psalm) 226

All mysteries have been fulfilled in you, our father,
(the Spirit of) truth, our lord Mani the living.

On the day of the cross
he gave himself up to the authorities;
on the second day of the week . . .
on the fourth (day) of the month Phamenoth,
at (the eleventh) hour of the day,
he gave himself up to (death).

(Our father), the blessed one, our lord Mani the living,
he bent his knees, imploring mercy,
crying out unto God, 'Open me the door
and give me release out of my sufferings.'

The rulers of the earth judged me in their wrath,
. . . their lying words,
through the words of . . . these, as they shall alter
and change that which is sweet and make it bitter.

In the day that they brought me before the judge
. . .
firmly established . . . all of them . . .
(. . . none) among them aided me.

All the lawless ones judged me;
the impious, the creatures of sin,
they held me in their power amidst the whole multitude,
like a sheep that has no shepherd.

They buzzed at me like wasps,
they roared against me like these lions,
saying to me in a loud voice:
'It pleases us not that thou should do these things.'

He did evil unto me in his wrath,
he counselled against me with his chieftains,
he swore to me by the salvation of his father:
'I will not leave you in the world henceforth.'

They loaded me with iron, as they do to sinners;
19 they fettered me as they do thieves,
they judged me like these . . .
. . . like these sorcerers.

From the day when they bound me to the day of the cross
there are numbered in all some twenty-six days,
they keeping watch on me night and day,
appointing guards, keeping watch on me.

(They put) six neck-chains upon me,
they fettered me with shackles
All the elect were weeping, and the catechumens,
seeing my sufferings wherein I was.

These sinners, all of them, they did not allow me
to see my children and my disciples
and my shepherds and my bishops;
when they saw them coming unto me.

(From) the day of the great persecution
to the day of the cross there are six years.
I spent them walking in the midst of the world,
like captives in the midst of strangers.

They were stirred, they trembled, even the powers of the evil one,
they turned their sword against the humble man;

they were not willing indeed to see me
in the streets of their cities.

Lo, the sky and the earth and the two luminaries
bear witness of me in the heights;
that I did good among them,
but they in their cruelty crucified me.

I was gazing at my familiar with my eyes of light,
beholding my glorious father;
he who is ever clasped to me,
he opening before me the gate unto the heights.

I spread out my hands, praying unto him;
I bent my knees, worshipping him also,
that I might divest myself of the image of the flesh
and strip from me the vesture of manhood.

Lo, his body was brought forth
in the city of these sinners,
when they had cut off his head
and hung it up amid the whole multitude.

20 . . .
the elect and the catechumens . . .
their great shepherd who has ascended from among
them.

(Then), when the beloved had ascended to heaven,
he set . . . his elect,
that they might . . . night and day
. . .

Spread out your hands, all the elect
and the catechumens of the faith;
and pray with a great prayer,
that the Father of glory may give to you . . .

. . .
who see me . . . light (?),
these that are in the church, . . .
who watch over her night and day.

15 Glory and victory to our lord Mani the living,
(the Spirit) of truth, this one from the Father;
and all his holy elect.
Victory to the soul of Maria.

THE MANICHAEAN CHURCH UNDER SISINNIOS AND HIS SUCCESSOR INNAIOS

19. Persecution of the Manichaean church

Hom. 74.8–78.30, trans. Clackson.

74 . . . **5** . . . they came to the middle of the . . . of some churches . . . **10** . . . revelations . . . afflictions and persecutions . . . Satan did not allow them . . . by the will of . . . until now before he has completed his . . . **15** . . . writings. He[117] was apprehended and crucified . . . scattered his congregations . . . furthermore his church . . . our father himself furthermore and our (saviour . . .) happened / became like the . . . **20** . . . wisdom. He was (disturbed . . .) his (church) . . . like a . . . teachers and readers . . . **25** . . . he threw up a cry and . . . the world. He threw . . . set forth revelations . . . he got a name, he became famous, he (. . . **30** sent) him / it, he . . . he practises / his practice(s) (. . . the) sects and the races . . . in the world . . . until the last . . . **75** when the apostle goes . . . but this world, its kind is this . . . the ones who have built it, that neither a good nor a wicked one should be left (in it (i.e. the world).)

Therefore, in the way of these (good ones . . .) **5** furthermore (our (?)) good father himself in their way. (The wicked ones themselves) and his crucifiers came (?) . . . again came forth. Also in the way the . . . wicked ones from the beginning to the end . . . How many have departed from the (world, the weak and the) **10** strong; the wretches and the heroes . . . and his manhood; all his good ones (and his wicked ones); the beautiful and the ugly . . . his lascivious ones. Their souls went (up and their) bodies returned to the earth. Their souls (. . . and) **15** their bones were scattered in every (land and in every) city.

However, the wicked who (thought that) they would depart like their companions, (their end came about) in accordance with their deeds because they made (his blood) flow (away . . .) namely his father and the

[117] The victim here appears to be Mani and the account is a summary of his death as seen in the context of the sufferings of the early leaders of the Manichaean church and the vile fate which befell their persecutors.

one he . . . **20** . . . his name. Blessed be (. . . blessed) be his truth. (Blessed) be . . . blessed be the (prophets) . . . blessed be his . . . day (. . . blessed be) the congregation of his faithful (. . . **25** the) teacher of truth, the instructor . . . wisdom. Blessed be the . . . and all who hear; they . . . sins and outrages against (?) the elect (and the catechumens) who listen to the . . .

30 Then, after their crucifixion of our (father, he fulfilled the) mystery of his apostolate . . . of Jesus. He ascended in the (form . . . (he gave?)) orders, he laid down some (commandments . . .) far from his justice . . . **35** . . . he established his (. . . armour) of glory . . . ***76*** . . . This year in which . . .

Another three years (passed . . . no)-one sinned against his people . . . trembling. They quieted their (anger **5** just as) he told them to while he was still (alive); but then . . . after the crucifixion of my (lord . . .) began to creep. It gathered . . . his anger[118] . . . from below . . . began little by little **10** . . . in every land . . . his anger until the fifteenth (year . . .) namely the wicked ones and the rebels . . . him, because Satan envied . . . and beyond his faithful ones; as if (?) **15** . . . the kings of . . . were angry . . . the consuming fire.

The wolves . . . sheep to kill and scatter . . . in between the bulls, to destroy . . . the wicked ones came in to the . . . **20** . . . they cut the branches and (twigs . . . robbers) came into the place for depositing (possessions . . .) destroyed the treasures. The cattle (went . . .) trod on him while he was upright . . . entered the dovecots of . . . **25** . . . fearful birds. The fame . . . land of the crucifixion . . . Persia, from Mesene . . . and Ctesiphon, in the land of (Ozeos and) Babylon in every city.

How many (. . . The) maidens and the continent **30** went away from them every year . . . They caught and killed the . . . sheep. They seized the bishops . . . his treasuries, they . . . **35** . . . slaughtered them like . . . ***77*** They revealed . . . small . . . before their teachers . . . lions. The lions spared (them . . .) They put armour on some (and made them go into competition) **5** with she-bears / lionesses; some . . . They set free mares . . . them, they gave eight . . . they (did not) spare them but killed them . . . they brought him and rolled (him . . .)

10 Some of them . . . Fire was thrust in their (faces in order to know) whether they had been well (and truly) killed, like . . . tore them, they also tore them . . . observed them sitting. Then . . . **15** them in their iniquity, they . . . questioned them about everything . . . crucified the youths,

[118] The persecuting Persian king would now have been Vahram II (r. 276–93). See below *Hom.* 81.9–10 (in **20**).

the children (and . . .) eunuchs. They sawed up some . . . them boasting (that . . . [20] . . .)

How numerous were the . . . deeds . . . them that they would (?) lie . . . like a herd . . . chains every year (. . . like) a beast without a (master . . . [25] . . . in) hundreds and fifties . . . in every land (. . . they) slaughtered a child in (front) of them . . . [30] . . . their possessions. The catechumens . . . **78** . . . they whipped (?) . . . some of them they dragged . . . Some furthermore . . . chains, to throw them into (prisons [5] in a (state of) hunger) and thirst, while they were fasting . . . in the cold with tribulations . . . with their feet on the ground (. . . thorns) and spikes and (. . . since) they were hidden without the sun . . . [10] . . .

They envied (the) just ones (. . . they broke) its watch-towers; they cut (?) a . . . walls on every side of it. They went . . . its doors. They opened its gates . . . they did (not have (?)) a youth. They were also . . . [15] . . . powerfully. They plucked . . . they scattered about the possessions of his . . . the ship to wreck it and make it sink into the abyss . . . to lead . . . astray . . . hero . . . [20] . . . (its) foundation and its root . . . sweet . . . guile because they were disturbed inside (. . . justice), she / it recoiled . . . [25] . . . he saved her (?) . . . She related this (cause for?) weeping to him . . . her groan . . . hunger and thirst . . . [30] . . .

20. The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin)

Sisinnios was the immediate successor to Mani and he was leader (*archegos*) of the community for about ten years (*c.* 276-*c.* 286, cf. *Hom.* 83.13, below). On his name see Tubach (1997) 388–9. This account is preserved in *Hom.* 79.1–85.34 (trans. Clackson). Another prayer attributed to the imprisoned Sisinnios is preserved in the Chinese Manichaean *Hymnscroll* (§§83–119), trans. Tsui Chi (1943) 183–6. The two prayers bear very little resemblance to each other; and it is interesting to note that the bodily suffering resulting from persecution by secular authorities, which is so prominent and cogent in the Coptic version, had been spiritualised in the Chinese version into the eternal battle between spirit and body and between permanence and impermanence.

After the martyrdom of Sisinnios the text records a temporary truce between Narses and the Manichaean church under Innaios.

79 'Spare my children. Send me (your power to help me) in this danger . . . every year from my enemies . . . [5] . . . perish . . . in your name, your glory in . . . from the day you chose me . . . great diadem, you put into my hand . . . the sects and all the races . . . [10] of your light. I did not lie to

your . . . I did not falsify your oath (. . . which you) gave me, I watch over them.'

'Now . . . vanity and you see my tears (. . . this is) the way in which I strengthened myself while I was in . . . [15] It is your hour / (you) are a god, do not renounce (me . . .) trap (?). My enemies . . . listen to the voice of this widow . . . the judge because I was judged in . . . , my children (were killed) in every (land . . . [20] . . .) loaded with possessions and your . . . The sea was disturbed by the . . . wave upon wave. I am (your . . . , your) gardeners (are) in me. I am your (. . . I) am your seed, while your husbandmen (. . . [25] . . .), your children are by (me . . . spare) me and pity me and send (me . . .) because I see the grief of my children (. . . kill them (?)) and they slay (my . . .) they burn my householders with fire . . . [30] . . . of truth (?) . . .'

'They came down . . . (with them) wishing to uproot them . . . their land and their kingdom . . . [35] . . . mystery . . . **80** . . . the hand (of) my enemies. They became / were . . . with my possessions, the libations . . . the congregations of my divinity . . . and abominations [5] (. . . view) the . . . year. I see my children (thrown down . . .), the bodies of the . . . lying (. . . in every) land. The head of the strangers and the . . . form of the ones who grieve and the [10] . . . and races. The dogs which . . . the wicked dragons. They have torn . . . their blood flowed out onto the earth . . . in every city. They mock . . . Their kin put me to shame [15] . . . indeed your (fem. sing.) god is the light . . . his is the wisdom. You (fem. sing.) indeed, why . . . , then why are they slain? . . . I however look at you (masc. sing.) . . .'

'The (kings) persecuted me [20] (. . . rulers), they did not leave me lacking . . . the inner ones furthermore, I did not make (obeisance (?)) to them . . . they made me see them with my (own) eyes . . . over me. They scattered . . . they sealed the doors . . . [25] . . . they threw me out from my dwelling-places . . . to my place. They revealed . . . They took away my beauty . . . song. They took me in . . . from the light of the sun, as if . . . [30] . . . stealthily. They killed the wise ones . . . pure (ones). They slaughtered my children (. . . my presbyters) and my faithful ones. They . . . the ones who were sitting . . . my wisdom . . . [35] . . . ' **81** . . . while she was crying (?) out . . . '. . . you observe . . . how many are . . . O my father . . . [5] send your power to support . . . the ones who were crucified . . . resting-place(s). Receive the (souls of the catechumens) who were destroyed . . .'

(It was in) the years of (King) Vahram, (the son of) [10] Vahram that these things happened; but he (and the) entire (congregation of Magi) and the deniers . . . of the good and the peace-givers (. . . crucifixion) of our lord.

Then, (after these great tribulations) and dangers, while . . . in this manner. From the outside indeed . . . but (from the inside) he bore the . . . his righteousness . . . which he had preached about that . . . crucified him. The world (was filled with his) glory. It reached the ears of the kings of . . . that time in anger . . . justice. They went . . . with the deniers, the ones who had . . . They wrote petitions (*libelli*) (. . . They showed) them to the king, full of (iniquity . . . the) strength of the Magi . . . refused his hope . . . the king and the nobles . . . and peacefulness. These ones with these (other . . .) each other, badness . . . a great evil befell . . . their anger . . . his faithful ones . . . **82** in the presence of . . . justice . . . They proclaimed . . .

He was taken into the presence of the king. He questioned him about everything . . . (asked) him about every matter. My lord (Sisinnios . . .) well. He persuaded . . . in his place; but the king hurt him (. . . desire), saying to him that . . . he compelled him '. . . listen to me, fear (?) . . . but if you listen to me I shall . . . you. You are a beautiful man. Why do you . . . yourself? Why are you going to strangle yourself . . . yourself so that I will not destroy you. Spare yourself (or (?)) I (will) kill you.'

Then he said to the king: '. . . your words and your deeds . . .' his heart . . . strong, it did not stir within him at (all . . .) he fetched some swords and he set them in order . . . The king said to him: 'Look and (see (?) . . . . .) my word.' However, my lord Sisinnios . . . : 'I have one more dreadful than you . . . I fear the one who . . . your word.' Then the king became angry (. . . 'Who) is it you fear more than me?' (Sisinnios said: '. . .) God. My heart is fearful . . .'

Then once, twice, three times (the king . . .) him, (but) he was not persuaded. He took (up) a sword . . . him, saying: 'I shall kill you now.' . . . the cross, in the manner of his . . . from the king. He did not flinch . . . time, the number of others . . . he was not afraid . . . He gave power . . . **83** rest above . . . lordship . . . his shoes; he stripped . . . his own hair. He . . . the king raised his hand and struck (lit. "put") him with the (sword . . .) blood flowed out like a . . . three presbyters . . . Apket and Abesira, the brothers . . . his crucifixion took place . . . the city. He was crucified . . . at the ninth hour of the day, on day one . . . . . hours. He went . . .

In the ten years (he had been leader), his heart had not (influenced (lit. "bent") him) at all. (He drank from) the cup of the crucifixion of his (father . . .) after him. He received the garland of the (. . . walked) on the road of his saviour . . . peace. He rested himself . . . he found recompense for his suffering . . . . . and the other brothers who were crucified, (they) bequeathed his word to Innaios . . . that the leader of the sect (. . . listened)

to the prayer of the just (. . . entreaty (?)) and weeping of those who called (up . . .)

25 Then after this murderous act of (crucifixion . . .) all of them. Then it came (down . . .) reached his children in their tribulation (. . . a danger) overtook . . . the king who was suffering greatly indeed like all the (officials) **30** and physicians also . . . the one who had come upon him, the ones of his law . . . , with them wishing (to) cure him. They could (?) not . . . at that time . . . departed in **35** . . . **84** . . . gentle . . . he put it in his heart.

. . . into the presence of the king . . . truthful . . . He perceived **5** . . . cure, in short a reason . . . God, the one who helped (him . . .) oaths: 'I shall . . . cure, you with your (whole) heart (. . . benefit) and good of your sect **10** . . . I killed your children and you (fear me and) do not cure me. It was not I who was pleased (but these) evil (men) who accused (them . . .) and what is in you, tell it . . . Do not be afraid. All these things have (passed by) **15** . . . from today.'

Then he cured him . . . god(s), he was glorified. The gods and (. . . helped) him. He received letters (from . . .) in every land.[119] He . . . before the face of the whole world . . . **20** . . . hand(s), with them bringing them to the (table . . .) so that he should sit next to him . . . he gave him gold and silver; he did not take . . . so that he should receive authority from the . . . God and his hope only. He **25** . . . before the king[120] and the nobles . . . they honoured him. More and more . . . He received victory and (favour . . .) his sect. Glory (. . . the) honoured and the despised (. . . **30** . . . the elect) and the catechumens . . . God. Justice . . . It (i.e. the church (?)) attained great glory . . . they built and set in order their (?) . . . from the places **35** . . . (**85**) in every place. They wrote (letters . . .) nobles . . . every river . . . in the palace of the (king . . .)

Peace descended upon . . . **5** . . . (up)on justice. They made (friends . . .) with the chiefs and the (leaders . . .) before the good. (Then) (in) the three (years of . . .) Vahram the king these things took place[121] . . . in peace at that time . . . **10** to it (i.e. the church (?)), it was greatly glorified. Then (after this, he) went up to Belapat and died. (He went to rest) at that time, from . . . is

[119] The Manichaean Historical Text (p15997) found at Medinet Madi, of which only a handful of leaves have survived the aftermath of the Second World War, tells us that Amarō the King of the Arabs at Hira (an important ally of the Sassanians) interceded on behalf of the community; and this brought about an audience between Vahram's successor Narses (r. 293–302) and Innaios. Cf. Pedersen (1997) and Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933), 29. A translation of part of this text can be found below, in **22b**.

[120] The king in question is most likely to be Narses.

[121] I.e. the martyrdom of Mani which took place in 276.

blessed . . . and the word of the apostle . . . [15] . . . what he had proclaimed, (namely) that they . . . and (were) drawn from the world (. . . and they) crossed over and passed away.

The church . . . in all its places. Many . . . a change in their body (. . . the [20] church) sees them and . . . ; it is established and lasting . . . They wished (to) do (evil . . .) It is the stumbling-block (lit. "stone") (. . . of) all worlds. It is the . . . [25] all . . . It will not move until the day of . . . with its members who will rule in the (. . . Woe to) the one who shall strike it and not (repent, nor worship) it. Blessed are its . . . and its faithful ones and (every one . . . [30] . . .) because this is the one who shall find (life eternal). Amen.

The (part) about the crucifixion of (the enlightener), [35] the (true) apostle, is finished.

CHAPTER 3

Manichaeism in the Roman Empire

The religion of Mani was founded on clear universalist principles. His travels to Upper Mesopotamia, Iran and India would have brought him in contact with Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism; and what struck him most about these established earlier religions was their apparent cultural and geographical boundaries. In a Middle Persian fragment which is probably derived from the semi-canonical *Šābuhragān* (a summary of his religion which he had translated into Middle Persian for the reigning Shahanshah Shapur I), Mani tells one of his disciples that the most important proof of the truth of his new revelation is its success as a universalist religion which would transcend geographical and national barriers:

{Header:} The ascension . . .
{**R**} . . . till the end (in the w)orld is established?' And (the lord (?) replied) to him: 'This religion which was chosen by me is in ten things above and better than the other religions of the ancients. Firstly: The older religions were in one country and one language; but my religion is of the kind that it will be manifest in every country and in all languages, and it will be taught in far away countries.

Secondly: The older religions (remained in order) as long as there were holy leaders in it; but when the leaders had been led upwards, then their religions became confused and they became slack in commandments and pious works, and by {**V**} greed and fire (of lust) and desire were deceived. However, my religion will remain firm through the living (. . . tea)chers, the bishops, the elect and the hearers; and of wisdom and works will stay on until the end.

Thirdly: Those former souls by whom in their own good action was not completed, come to my religion and it verily is to them the gate of salvation.

Fourthly: This revelation (of mine) of the two principles and my living books, my wisdom and knowledge are above and better than those of the previous religions.

Fifthly: All writings, all wisdom and all parables of the previous religions when they to this (religion of mine came . . .)'[1]

[1] M5794 I + M5761, *MM* II, 295–96 + *KG* 2205–07 + 2210–12; trans. S. Lieu, with reference to the earlier translation by Asmussen which is based solely on M5794 I. For the parallel tradition preserved in the *Kephalaia*, see **91**.

The source of this missionary zeal might have been the success of the followers of Marcion in disseminating his teaching in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, North Africa and Rome in the Second Century AD. For Mani the fact that the Sassanian Empire was positioned between the Empires of Rome, Kushan and China, and was itself culturally heterogeneous, would have undoubtedly given the young Mani a highly cosmopolitan vision for his missionary enterprises. The recent military successes of the Sassanians against the Romans in the frontier regions would have certainly opened up new possibilities for commerce between the two empires and the Manichaean missionaries were the first to exploit them. We are fortunate that the community maintained a strong historiographical tradition throughout its history. Among the codices from Medinet Madi was a historical work but sadly it was lost after the Second World War and only a few odd leaves have survived (see below). However, a considerable number of historical texts have been identified among the fragments from Turfan, and these in the usual hagiographical style associated with such texts inform us of Manichaean missionary activities in the Roman Empire as well as in Central Asia.

Once the community had established itself in Egypt and Syria, further penetration into the western half of the Empire was merely a matter of time. Manichaean texts were translated from Mani's original Syriac into both Greek and Coptic, and later into Latin, and their missionaries were well known for the care they lavished on the production and preservation of their scriptures. These, along with members of the elect, also became targets of legislations against the sect from Diocletian onwards (303). The religious peace declared by Constantine and Licinius in the Edict (or Rescript) of Milan in 313, however, enabled the sect to pass itself off both as a form of reformed Christianity and of enlightened paganism. Soon Manichaeism was well established in the Nile Valley, especially at Lycopolis, and it might have been from Lycopolis that members of the sect migrated to the Dakhleh Oasis to avoid persecution. It had a strong base in Antioch, where among those who advocated tolerance towards it was the city's famous rhetor Libanius, and its presence was also noted in Greece. The history of the sect in North Africa, especially in Carthage, Thagaste, Hippo and Malliana is well documented by Augustine, who spent nine years as a hearer while he was a student and later teacher of rhetoric at Carthage. It was with Manichaeans that he sojourned in Rome, and it was through their net-working and influence that he was appointed to the Chair of Rhetoric in Milan. Later as a deacon and bishop at Hippo he debated with the Manichaean missionaries Fortunatus and Felix; and also wrote a lengthy refutation of the

Apologia of Faustus of Milevis, the most influential Manichaean preacher of his time.

With the accession of Theodosius, anti-heretical legislations eventually put serious restrictions on the mobility of the sect; even though these were first ignored. By the time of Anastasius and Justinian, the sect was generally proscribed with the threat of the death penalty for its elect. Its followers were also deprived of the right to serve in the civil administration and forbidden to write an effective will. The latter measure would have been disastrous for a sect in which the elect members relied heavily on the monetary and other forms of contribution by their faithful hearers. Little genuine information on the teaching of the sect survived the reign of Justinian which implies that the community had lost almost all its scriptures, and with them its original identity as a religion of the book *par excellence*.

EARLY MISSION AND REACTION

21. The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher

The mission to the eastern Roman Empire was instituted by Mani himself, during his life-time, as evidenced by these Manichaean missionary text-fragments preserved in Middle Iranian.[2]

(a) *From the Middle Persian version:*[3]

'. . . become familiar with the writings!' They went to the Roman Empire (and) saw many doctrinal disputes with the religions. Many elect and hearers were chosen. Patīg was there for one year. (Then) he returned (and appeared) before the apostle. Hereafter the lord sent three scribes, the Gospel and two other writings to Addā. He gave the order: 'Do not take it further, but stay there like a merchant who collects a treasure.' Addā laboured very hard in these areas, founded many monasteries, chose many elect and hearers, composed writings and made wisdom his weapon. He opposed the "dogmas" with these (writings), (and) in everything he acquitted himself well. He subdued and enchained the dogmas. He came as far as Alexandria. He chose Nafšā for the religion. Many wonders and miracles were wrought in those lands. The religion of the apostle was advanced in the Roman Empire.

[2] On the various versions of Manichaean missionary history in Middle Iranian which pertain to the mission of Mār Addā to the Roman Empire see esp. Sundermann (1986), 246–50. Though the texts, as we possess them, are the works of Manichaean scribes in Central Asia in the ninth to tenth centuries AD, they contain material which almost certainly goes back to early accounts of Manichaean mission composed in Syriac or Parthian.

[3] M2 I R I 1–33, *MM* II, 301–2; Eng. trans. Asmussen (1975), 21. The manuscript fragment also includes an account of Mār Ammo's mission to Parthia and Central Asia.

(b) *From the Parthian version:*[4]
And when the apostle (i.e. Mani) was (in) Vēh-Ardashīr (i.e. the refounded Seleucia), he sent from there (Patīg) the teacher, Addā the bishop, (and M)ani the scribe to Rome. (And) four instructions . . . to . . . there . . . from (. . . who) gathers (a treasure. And Addā founded) many mon(asteries (*m'nyst'n*) and he composed . . .) and writings of light. (And) he grasped (?) (wisdom for) the refutation of the dogmas. He devised many (ways) and fashioned them (as weapon) against all the dogmas. And he defeated the teachings and put them all to shame like someone who (wielded) a powerful weapon.

(c) *From the Sogdian version:*[5]
'. . . Which riding-animal is faster than the wind?' Mār Addā gave as answer to them: 'I have good thought . . . conscience, whose (way of life (?) . . .) is faster (than the wind). And I have (a religion (?)) the radiance of which is (brighter) than the sun. And I have (as) provisions divine profit (?) I have (divine (?)) the taste of which is (sweeter) (than) honey.' The ministers (?) then asked Mār Addā: 'O lord, (what) form does the soul take?' Mār Addā ans(wered)them thus: 'The soul is comparable to the body, which is divided (into five) limbs, (a head), two (arms) and two feet. The soul too (is) just like that: (life) is seen as the (first) limb of the soul, power (is counted as) the second limb, light is counted (as the third (limb), beauty) is counted as the (fourth) (limb) and fragrance is counted as the fifth (limb). And its form and manner are an image (of the body) (?), just as (Jesus (?)) has said: 'It cannot be seen with a fleshly eye, the fleshly ear does not hear <it>, it cannot be held with a fleshly hand nor with a (flesh)ly tongue can it be completely explained.' And (Mār Ad)dā (expended) there in the Roman Empire much effort. (He purified many hearers . . . and in large . . . the west(ern . . .) and many scriptures . . . and . . . wrote . . . struggle . . . and (the) divine (profit) arose upwards through him (and) (spread) in all the Roman lands and cities right up to the (gr)eat Alexandria.

22. The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā

So 18223 (= T.M. 389c) + So 18222 (T.M. 389c) *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5, Sogdian text from Turfan trans. S. Lieu.

[4] M216c R 8 – V 13, *KG* , §2.5 (170–87), p. 26, trans. S. Lieu.
[5] So. 18220 (= T.M. 389*α*), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41, trans. S. Lieu.

. . . Nafšā herself (pleaded) with (Jesus): ('Hel)p (?) me, beneficent God! . . . for this reason, because in your . . . in the midst of the followers of <foreign> religions and . . . ' (. . . the lord Man)i (?), the apostle openly descended into the presence of Nafšā and he laid his hand upon <her>, and straight away Nafšā was healed, and she became wholly without pain. Everyone was astonished at this great miracle. And <there were> many people, who accepted the truth anew. Also Queen Taδī, the sister of Nafšā, wife of the emperor (*kysr*) with great . . . came before Mār Addā and from him . . . received the truth. And Mār Addā up to . . . went. And (when (?)) he arrived, the people (who) were devoted (to the veneration of the demons (?)) said: 'We shall (a)llow you because (. . . te)mple where . . .' And in the night the voice and . . . as had been said by them, and . . . stood totally amazed because . . . the walls of the houses of idols in . . . was, so that an exit could be found (?) immediately . . . And the door was sealed with the emperor's seal and there was no house in the vicinity. Without delay Mār Addā stood in supplication and prayer there, and he said to the apostle: 'I would like to obtain the explanation of this information'. And immediately it was revealed and the apostle came and explained to him, that there are twelve classes of men who never speak to one another. And for each individual man (of) . . . channels (?) are dug from . . . , right up (to . . .) where the idols sit . . . are twelve men who . . . eat, make music (. . . the channels (?)) hold the moisture (?). 'And go (. . . to the) Caesar and to him the secret . . . holy (. . .) (. . . wr)ite (having perverted religion (?)) <and> having little understanding in . . . behaviour . . . And no one should be disobedient, following his own desire and will, so that his effort and trouble should not be without reward.' And at the end he gave them all the commandments, morals and habits, laws and rules, conduct and behaviour, fully and completely by numbers <viz.>: Five commandments (in ten) divisions; three seals in six divisions; five (garments in) (ten) divisions; watchfulness and zeal . . . ; (twelve) dominions in sixty-two divisions; . . . each in five each . . . each one in seven (. . . expo)sitions; seven hymns . . . and five expositions (. . . each) one in seven prohibitions and (seven (?) c)(onfessions, each) one in . . . (they are. And) for that reason they are called believing hearers, and they participate in the religion, and their commandment is manifest. And these, now, who are hearers and remain mixed (?) in earthly things, immature saplings (?) they are and children who drink milk, and their food is the milk of the spirit. For them too a commandment and order (are) manifest in the church, because they themselves are (in) the c(hurch) and from the living soul . . . Holy Ghost, who in . . . they worship, and also . . . are of the glory of the religion who . . . is. And by divine (grace (?)) they (the "perfect"

hearers (?)) are counted (amongst the full-grown) trees . . . and the command is thus . . .[6]

The success of the Manichaean mission to Tadmor, and its important role in the westward spread of the religion, is also implied in the following text (Coptic).[7] Although, most unfortunately, the preservation is very poor, it appears to claim the Queen of Tadmor (Zenobia?) and King Amarō of the Lakhmids as patrons of the religion.

. . . of Persia make peace and they were re(conciled (?)) . . . the river and . . . those neighbourhoods, . . . the merchants in the land of Khūzistan (. . . **15** every) place, and they lived with them in their province . . . they are full of our knowledge and our faith . . . of that place in . . . the teacher Abiēs, . . . before Malōp, the son of Adbkh(. . . **20** . . .) and Abakarim, and he spoke with (. . . go) also in to Queen Thadamōr . . . rightly, and the teacher Abiēs, . . . that . . . and other brethren, and they made a great . . . church of that place . . . **25** . . . the teacher . . . sent the servant Sethel . . . Zakhias to Abira of the watch tower, and they . . . a church of that place . . . the matter came before King Amarō[8] (. . . Aba)karim, therefore the brethren were caused to go . . . **30** . . . a cause of healing, and they caused him to become friends with (us . . .) good in him, and he helped us very . . . for us, and he became a great patron for (us . . .) his patronage and his . . . appear . . .

23. A warning against Manichaean missionaries

This is the text of a pastoral letter written by an Egyptian Christian bishop in the late third century.[9]

12Again the Manichaeans speak (falsely against marriage saying that) he does well (who does not) marry. (Paul) says (1 Cor. 7:1ff.) that the man who does not marry (does better); but that adulterer and forni(cator **15** are evil is manifest from the) holy scriptures, from which we learn (that marriage is honoured by God, but that he abominates forni)cators and adulterers (Hebr. 13:4). Whereby it is manifest (that he condemns) them also that worship the creation (Rom. 1:25) who (. . . have committed adultery) with

[6] On this story see also the newly combined Sogdian fragment (Berlin Ch/U 20505 and Ch/So 20216 cf. *KG* §19 (2049–59), p. 123 + Kyoto Otani 7481 and 7251) published by Yoshida (2000), 81 which appears to compare Buddhist mendicants unfavourably with Manichaean Elect.

[7] P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99), lines 10–34, ed. and trans. Pedersen (1997), 196 (adapted). See also Tardieu (1992), 16–17.

[8] The Lakhmids of Hira were traditionally friendly to the Sassanians and were their main desert allies in Romano-Persian conflicts.

[9] *P. Rylands Greek* 469.12–42, ed. and trans. Roberts (1938), 42–3.

sticks and stones (Jer. 3:9). Not but what God commands us (to chastise the man that does) evil, in these words: **20** (If there be found man or woman) in one of the cities which the lord your God gives you (Deut. 17:2–3) that has wrought wickedness in the sight of the lord your God and has worshipped (the sun or any of the host of heaven), it is an abomination unto the lord your God. Every one that does (these things is an abomination unto the lord) your God (Deut. 7:25; 17:1 and 18:12).

And the Manichaeans manifestly wor(ship the creation (? and that which they say)) in their psalms is an abomination to the lord (. . . (saying) 'Neither) **25** have I cast it (sc. the bread) into the oven: another has brought me this and I have eaten it without guilt.' Whence we can easily conclude that the Manichaeans are filled with such madness; especially since this "apology to the bread" is the work of a man filled with much madness.

As I said before, I have cited this in brief from **30** the document of the madness of the Manichaeans that fell into my hands, that we may be on our guard against these who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call "elect" and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abominations of their madness.

35 We speak what we would not, seeking not our own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved. May therefore our God, the all good and the all holy, grant that you may abstain from all appearance of evil and that your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless **40** in the presence of our lord Jesus Christ. Greet one another with a holy kiss. The brethren with me greet you. I pray that you may be well in the lord, beloved, cleansing yourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.

24. Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt

Alexander was a Neo-Platonist, whose contemporary account of the Manichaean mission,[10] and its successes amongst his philosophically minded colleagues, provides a fascinating counter-point to the more usual themes of Christian polemic.

(I) (p. 3) The philosophy of the Christians is a simple one. In fact it devotes most of its attention to moral education, but remains allusive when it is a question of entering into more precise arguments relating to the divinity. Furthermore, the essence of their efforts concerning this subject matter cannot but meet with general approval, when they suggest that the generating cause is the most venerable, the most ancient and the reason for the

[10] ed. Brinkmann (1895) §1–11, pp. 3–4; Eng. trans. S. Vince and S. Lieu.

existence of all things. In morality, also, they leave aside the most difficult questions, for example: what is moral virtue and what is intellectual virtue, also everything concerning attitudes and affections, in order to devote most of their time to commonplace moral exhortation; and, neglecting to put forward the elementary principles which govern the acquisition of each virtue, they haphazardly amass somewhat simplistic principles. The masses who listen to them make, as can be seen from experience, great progress in moderation, and their actions are stamped with a distinctive mark of piety; it rekindles the moral sense which such customs strengthen, and leads it progressively towards a desire for the good.

This philosophy being divided into several factions, impelled by those who came subsequently, the questions have multiplied, just as in sophistry:[11] some of these men have also become more skilful (p. 4) and, so to speak, more expert than the others in the art of raising difficulties. Certain of them were even founders of sects, this resulted in the decline of a moral teaching which had become unreliable. For, on the one hand, none of them who were ambitious to lead sects were in a position to give discourses of the requisite precision; whereas the masses demonstrated above all their inclination to indulge in confrontations with rival factions. There were no rules, nor any law which would have permitted a solution to these difficulties to be found; and, as with everywhere else, there is nothing that is not spoiled by an excessive desire for celebration. (II) Here also, the efforts of each person to out-do his predecessor through the novelty of his ideas meant that, in their hands, this very simple philosophy became something inextricable.

An example is given by the man known as Mani: He was of the Persian race, and, to my mind at least, he surpasses all his rivals in the extravagance of his proposals. His strange new ideas came to light very recently. The first person to interpret the doctrines of this man was named Papos; after him came Thomas, and others still after these two. As for Mani himself, it is said that he lived in Valerian's time, that he accompanied the Persian King Shapur in his campaigns, and that he was put to death for having offended this prince in some way.

25. Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD *302)*

This edict (in Latin)[12] was written in response to a petition from (Flavius?) Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. However, there is also intriguing evidence of the arrival of a

[11] Lit. 'the eristic school'.
[12] *Collatio Mosaicarum* XV.3, ed. and trans. Hyamson (1913), 131–3, revised by S. Lieu.

Manichaean missionary Bundos at Rome during the reign of Diocletian; this according to the much later Greek historian Malalas:[13]

> During his (sc. Diocletian's) reign a certain Manichaean by the name of Bundos appeared in the city of Rome. He broke away from the teaching of the Manichaeans and put forward his own doctrine. He taught that the good God engaged in battle with the evil (one) and triumphed over him. One should therefore honour the victor. He returned to teach in Persia. The doctrine of the Manichaeans was called that of the Daristhenes by the Persians, which in their own language means that of the good (God).

The work of Ioannes Malalas was published sometime after 574. The material contained in this enigmatic passage is completely uncorroborated by other sources, and seems to contain references to the sect of the Mazdakites which caused a social revolt in Sassanian Persia in the early sixth century. However, a date for the arrival of Manichaeism in the capital city of the Roman Empire under Diocletian is entirely plausible.

The Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus (and Constantius) and Maximianus (i.e. Galerius) to Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. Well-beloved Julianus:

(1) Excessive leisure sometimes incites ill-conditioned people to transgress the limits of nature, and persuades them to introduce empty and scandalous kinds of superstitious doctrine, so that many others are lured on to acknowledge the authority of their erroneous notions.

(2) However, the immortal gods, in their providence, have thought fit to ordain that the principles of virtue and truth should, by the counsel and deliberations of many good, great and wise men, be approved and established in their integrity. These principles it is not right to oppose or resist, nor ought the ancient religion be subjected to the censure of a new creed. It is indeed highly criminal to discuss doctrines once and for all settled and defined by our forefathers, and which have their recognised place and course in our system.

(3) Wherefore we are resolutely determined to punish the stubborn depravity of these worthless people.

(4) As regards the Manichaeans, concerning whom your carefulness has reported to our serenity, who, in opposition to the older creeds, set up new and unheard-of sects, purposing in their wickedness to cast out the doctrines vouchsafed to us by divine favour in olden times, we have heard that they have but recently advanced or sprung forth, like strange and monstrous portents, from their native homes among the Persians – a nation hostile to us – and have settled in this part of

[13] *Chronographia* XII, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1831), 309.19–310.2; trans. S. Lieu. On this passage see esp. Christensen (1925), 97–9.

the world, where they are perpetrating many evil deeds, disturbing the tranquillity of the peoples and causing the gravest injuries to the civic communities; and there is danger that, in process of time, they will endeavour, as is their usual practice, to infect the innocent, orderly and tranquil Roman people, as well as the whole of our empire, with the damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians as with the poison of a malignant serpent.

(5) And since all that your prudence has set out in detail in your report of their religion shows that what our laws regard as their misdeeds are clearly the offspring of a fantastic and lying imagination, we have appointed pains and punishments due and fitting for these people.

(6) We order that the authors and leaders of these sects be subjected to severe punishment, and, together with their abominable writings, burnt in the flames. We direct that their followers, if they continue recalcitrant, shall suffer capital punishment, and their goods be forfeited to the imperial treasury.

(7) And if those who have gone over to that hitherto unheard-of, scandalous and wholly infamous creed, or to that of the Persians, are persons who hold public office, or are of any rank or of superior social status, you will see to it that their estates are confiscated and the offenders sent to the (quarry) at Phaeno or the mines at Proconnesus.

(8) And in order that this plague of iniquity shall be completely extirpated from this our most happy age, let your devotion hasten to carry out our orders and commands.

Given at Alexandria, 31 March.

The edict of Diocletian may be compared with the first such one issued by Christian emperors (AD 372, Latin):[14]

Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augusti to Ampelius, urban prefect.

Wherever an assembly[15] of Manichaeans or a crowd of this kind is found, after their teachers have been penalised by a severe punishment and also those persons who assemble have been segregated from the company of men as infamous and ignominious, their houses and habitations, in which the profane instruction is taught, should be appropriated undoubtedly to the fisc's resources.

Given on 2 March at Trier, Modestus and Arinthaeus being consuls.

[14] *CT* XVI.5.3, p. 855; Eng. trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), I, 333.

[15] The law targets the meeting-places of the sect where the authorities feared illicit and magical rites were celebrated. On this see especially Kaden (1953), 58.

26. Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans

The setting is Rome in the 370s; the source: an anonymous commentator on the Pauline Epistles (Latin).[16]

Although this would fit all heretics, as they (all) inveigle themselves into houses and charm women with persuasive and crafty words so that through them they might deceive the men in the fashion of the devil their father who defrauds Adam through Eve, it matches the Manichaeans above all others. None are so ruthless, so deceitful, so enticing as those whose practice it is to cultivate one idea and declare another, say one thing in private and another in public. Although they uphold saintly living, they lead a life of gross immorality with the support of their own rule. Although they praise compassion, they are found to be harsh towards each other. They preach that the world is to be despised while taking care of their personal advancement. They boastfully vaunt that they are strict in their fasting though they are all well weighed down, because it is only by some trickery that they appear pale so that they may deceive (other people).

The apostle had prophesied this especially about them who, as is well known, were not then in existence; just as neither were the Arians. The Emperor Diocletian makes this quite sure by his edict, in which he says: 'This impure and sordid heresy which has recently arrived from Persia . . . ' They seek out women, who always want to hear something for sheer novelty, and persuade them through what they like to hear to do foul and illicit things. For the women are desirous to learn, though they do not possess the power of discrimination. This is what is meant by, 'always willing to listen but not having the knowledge of the truth' (2 Tim. 3:7).

MANICHAEANS AND CHRISTIAN ASCETICS IN EGYPT

27. Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind

The attitude of Didymus the Blind in this text (c. AD 350, Greek)[17] may be compared with the guarded courtesy of St Anthony, at least as presented by Athanasius (*c.* AD 340, Greek):[18]

> Anthony's devotion to the faith was most extraordinary. He never held communion with the Meletian schimatics, because he knew their wicked apostasy from

[16] 'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. ad Tim. ii*, 3.6–7, 2, ed. A. Souter, CSEL LXXXI/3, 312.4–20; trans. S. Lieu.
[17] Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes* 9.9a, ed. Grünewald (1979), 274.18–275.2.8–10; trans. S. Lieu.
[18] Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 68, *PG* 26.940B; Eng. trans. Keenan (1952) 195–96.

> the beginning; nor did he have friendly dealings with the Manichaeans or any other heretics, except in so far as to admonish them to be converted to piety, for he believed and maintained that friendship and association with them was harmful and destructive to the soul.

And once I (i.e. Didymus the Blind) also said this to the Manichaeans: 'Look, how great this chastity is! He runs no risk of a punishment if he comes together with his wife at the right time; it will bring him no reproach, for it is not counted as offending against the law. As he himself however has gone beyond this law and has yielded himself up to another law intended for angels, that is why he refrains from it as from something which is not fitting for him.'

Like a sophist (the Manichaean) questioned me (by way of a) premise; he said to me: 'What is the will of Jesus?' He wanted me to say, for example: 'Not to marry'; so that he himself could then quote the ancient fathers in the case. He says: 'What is the will of Jesus?' I say: 'That one should do the works of Abraham and believe in Moses.' Instantly, his sophism was dissolved . . . said the word and says to me: 'You have brought together the fist-fighter and the tragedian.' (I say) to him: 'I have not brought the fist-fighter together with the tragedian nor the tragedian with the fist-fighter; but I have put the tragedian with the tragedian and the fist-fighter with the fist-fighter, for I make every effort to be a fair adjudicator.'

28. A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality'

c. AD 380, Latin.[19]

An old man in Egypt lived in a desert place. And far away lived a Manichaean who was a priest, at least was one of those whom Manichaeans call priests. While the Manichaean was on a journey to visit another of that erroneous sect, he was caught by nightfall in the place where lived this orthodox and holy man. He wanted to knock and go in and ask for shelter; but was afraid to do so, for he knew that he would be refused hospitality. Still, driven by his plight, he put the thought aside, and knocked.

The old man opened the door and recognised him; and he welcomed him joyfully, made him pray with him, gave him supper and a bed. The Manichaean lay thinking in the night, and marvelling: 'Why was he not hostile to me? He is a true servant of God.' And at break of day he rose, and fell at his feet, saying: 'Henceforth I am orthodox, and shall not leave you.' And so he stayed with him.

[19] *Verba Seniorum* XIII.II, *PL* 73.945; Eng. trans. Chadwick (1958), 146–7.

29. A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire

The setting is Hermopolis (*c.* AD 390, Greek).[20]

On one occasion I (i.e. Copres, a holy man) went down to the city (Hermopolis Magna), and there I found a certain Manichaean who had been leading the people astray. As I was unable to make him change his mind by debating with him in public, turning to the crowd of listeners I said: 'Light a large fire in the square and both of us shall enter the flames; and whichever one of us remains unhurt, he shall be the one with the true faith.' At this the crowd eagerly lit the fire and dragged us towards the flames. However, the Manichaean said: 'Let each of us go in by himself, and you should be the first one since you suggested it.' Then, having made upon myself the sign of the cross in the name of Christ, I went into the fire. The flames parted asunder this way and that and did not harm me for the half hour which I spent in the fire. At the sight of this miracle, the crowd made a loud acclamation and compelled the Manichaean to go into the fire; but he dragged his feet as he was frightened, and the crowd took hold of him and pushed him into the middle of the fire. He suffered serious burns all over his body and the crowd expelled him from the city in disgrace,[21] shouting: 'The deceiver should be burnt alive.' As for me, the crowd carried me with them to the church, ascribing praises to God as they went.

30. A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy

In this way Timothy of Alexandria (*sedit* 380–5) was able to detect and expose crypto-Manichaeans; this according to Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) (Arabic).[22]

Most bishops in Egypt were Manichaeans. They (the former) therefore ate meat, as did the patriarchs and the monks. The patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and of the holy city and their bishops and monks did not eat meat; but replaced it with fish, and ate it because fish was said to be an animal too.

Sa'id ibn Batriq, the practising physician, says: Timothy, the Patriarch of Alexandria, did not permit the eating of meat, in order that it be replaced by fish. By the 'eating of meat' he meant the sacrifice, and fish is not a

[20] *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* x.30–5 (191–225), ed. Festugière (1961), 87–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Latin version in Rufinus, *Historia Monachorum* 9, *PL* 21.426c–27b.

[21] A later version of the story given in Syriac by Anan-Isho says that the Manichaean was entirely consumed by the fire. Cf. 'Enaniso' Monachus, *Paradisum Patrum*, ed. Budge (1904), 416.9.

[22] Ed. Breydey (1985), Textus, 83; Eng. trans. by Dr S. Calderini for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* (unpublished). On this passage see esp. Stroumsa (1986), 312.

sacrifice. There is a class of Manichaeans who are known as 'hearers' (Arab. *sammakini*), and they eat fish because it is not a sacrifice; but they forbid the 'eating of meat' because it is a sacrifice. They who have replaced meat with fish are in error. Our lord Christ ate meat. It follows necessarily then that everyone who confesses the Christian religion eats (i.e. must eat) meat too like Christ, to be precise at least once a year; in order to repudiate any suspicion of heresy and to renounce Manichaeism publicly.

The Manichaeans had two groups: the group of 'hearers' and the group of 'righteous ones' (*saddikeni*). The righteous ones fasted always (at all times), and only ate what the earth produces. The hearers fasted on certain days of the month. When they became Christians they were afraid that, if they continued to eat no meat, they would be discovered and killed. So they set for themselves times of fasting: at Christmas, at the feasts of the apostles and of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. During these times of fasting they did not eat meat. By this means they divided the year up with (times of) fasting without running the risk of being recognised because of their refusal to eat meat. After some considerable time they were followed on this path by the Nestorians, the Jacobites and the Maronites. In this way a law was made of it.

31. A story of two Manichaean merchants

These merchants are portrayed masquerading as traders in Christian relics. The story is related in a sermon on the Wedding in Cana by the Patriarch Benjamin of Alexandria (*c.* AD 643, Coptic).[23]

There came also two priests, wishing to pay a visit there. They happened to be foreigners, being merchants in Egypt; and since they were staying in the oratory, they slept near to us at night.

Now in the middle of the night I heard a voice crying out: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' And the voice cried out until dawn broke.

We spent five months in that place. After that, we arose and went south. The brothers received us among them very gladly. And as for the two priests, God ordained that they should not leave the place at all, although they entered the oratory as if to stay just until the following day and then go on their way; but it was as though someone had chained them with iron, and they were unable to come out and go anywhere.

[23] On this passage see esp. Stroumsa (1986), 312 Ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8. Eng. trans. Dr S. Clackson (slightly adapted). See also the text of C. D. G. Müller (1968), 162 and 184; also Johnson (1987), 209.

After this, it happened that the good God wanted to relieve our suffering. Peace flourished once more in the church, and the people rejoiced with us; by God's will we returned northwards, and went to Alexandria. And, when I reached that oratory, I intended to go in to perceive the words I had heard there. When I went in through the door with the crowd of faithful who were with me, the voice cried out again: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' I spent a week in that place during which the voice cried out day and night: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' God inspired me not to leave that place until I knew everything. I thought to myself: 'Perhaps those priests have got hold of some martyrs' bones.' I called to one of them, and said to him: 'Before you came into this *topos* there was no noise like this in it. Since you came in here there have been all these voices; perhaps you have some martyrs' bones that you took by stealth. If so, bring them here to me so that I can send them on their way in peace. If not, believe me, I will send you to the governor at Antinoe and have you thoroughly questioned; but tell me the whole truth.'

However, he was very frightened and said to me: 'My holy father, we have committed a grave sin; but I will tell you what we have done. For more than five years now, I and my companion here have been on the road selling our lord's body, for we are Manichaeans.[24] We were persecuted when found doing this in our own country; the governors in our country prepared to inflict great suffering on us. However, we gave a large sum of money so that they would let us go on, being driven out of our country. And they said to us as follows: "The day that we find you in this country your sin will be upon you; and you will be punished by fire." We arose, left our house and came to this country. We went into a church, for every year a large crowd came to it to stay there. The people of the village took us into a church, so that we might give our blessing in it. We rose to our feet, took a large consecrated host and divided it; then we took away all the relics of all the bodies, which we shared out. We set out for the sea (or the Fayum), to give them to the devil who was living there. Believe me, o my holy father, since we came into this oratory we have become like people in irons, unable to go outside the door. And when we propose to go out, it is as if we were bound up. In any case, listen to those who cry out, and question them; because you are the high priest and the shepherd. And let it be as you command.'

[24] The identification of these two merchants as Manichaean is seen by some scholars as a polemical topos. On this controversial passage, see discussions in Rochow (1979), 15–16, Grillmeier (1990), 171, n. 4; also Klein (1992), 373–4.

And when I heard this my whole body trembled, my soul dissolved with fear. I wept copiously and cried out, saying: 'Woe is me, wretch that I am! For what manner of sin rules over the world! O God, my God! Have pity, merciful one! Do not be angry with your heritage because of earthly sinners; but lord, give the wrongdoers their just reward, and wipe out the sinners.'

And I summoned that impious priest. The other also replied these things to me. And it happened that, when I had heard them speaking thus, I stood up with the bishop, priests and other members of the clergy. I had candles and incense burned. We left and went to those men's lodgings. The things (i.e. the consecrated hosts) were brought out, and given to me on a silver plate. And I cried out and wept: 'Woe is me, wretched man that I am! For I sleep on soft beds, while the body of my saviour is in the hands of these impious men. Woe is me, wretch that I am! For I eat and drink, while the very body of my saviour is in the hands of these impious men, who wander with him from place to place.' And I placed both of them under guard. I took the holy relics to the church, the bell was rung for prayer; and we made preparations to receive the blessing. And when we had finished the holy anaphora, I had the holy relics brought onto the altar; and at that moment they emitted blood, until the altar cloths were soaked. And when we had dismissed the congregation I sat down and wrote a letter to Shenute, the God-loving *dux* at Antinoe.[25] And I wrote to him thus: 'Who can count the grains of sand which are scattered on the sea shores? – as it is said in the scriptures. Who can count the grave sins of the devil's children? I mean those who even now are selling the body of the lord, and receive money for it; like Judas, who betrayed his lord for thirty pieces of silver so that he might be crucified. Who can shut his ears so as not to hear what we write to you, o Christ-loving one? Truly heaven trembles at what we are about to tell you, o God-loving son; and the earth moves this way and that, because of the audacity of two impious men, who deserve the fate of Arius who had his stomach ripped open, and died a death more terrible than that of any man. Believe me, o my God-loving one, that when I began to write to you to tell you what has happened, my whole body trembled, my eyes watered and I was powerless to describe what happened.

Still, it is indeed necessary for us to tell you, o Christ-loving one, what has happened; and when you have heard it for yourself, your body will tremble. For when you have questioned them (i.e. the Manichaeans), men of their sort absolve thieves, fornicators and (those who commit) the other

[25] The *Dux* Shenute (*Dux Thebaidis* 641/42) later played an important role in the surrender of Byzantine forces in Lower Egypt to the Arabs. Cf. 'Senuthius (Sīnōdā) 2' in Martindale (1992), 1122.

sins all men commit. For if men sin against the good God, who will snatch them away from the punishments which he will bring upon them? Lest we get carried away in a long discourse to you, o God-serving one, here are the brothers of Judas the traitor, whom we have sent to you bound up. For indeed, in the same way as he sold the lord, they have also sold the lord.

However, Judas sold the lord once; these men, on the contrary, have sold him many times. The Jews crucified the lord once; these men, on the contrary, have crucified the lord many times. In fact these men we have sent to you are Manichaeans, who sell the lord for money.

Now therefore, the throne of Mark the evangelist commands you, o God-loving one, to deal with them in accordance with your wisdom. Be well, our beloved son. We are praying for you so that you are well in the lord.'

When we had written this, we put them in irons and sent them to Antinoe.

And when he had read the letter, he was not remiss in any way. He ordered a copper cauldron to be brought and filled with oil and pork fat, and a fire to be lit underneath it until the flames leapt very high. He tied them up and threw them into it. And the fire burned up their whole bodies, and nothing at all could be found of them.

MANICHAEISM IN THE LEVANT, ASIA MINOR AND GREECE

32. The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza

Manichaeism had first entered the Roman Empire via the trade routes from the east; and, although there are not such substantial remains or accounts of its success as exist for Egypt and North Africa, there is certainly enough evidence to show that it was a major force throughout the eastern Mediterranean world of the fourth century. One of the scant material (excluding textual) remains is the famous sepulchral inscription of a Manichaean electa at Salona (early 4th C., Greek):[26]

Bassa, a virgin[27] from Lydia, a (female) Manichaean.

There is also this plea for toleration, by Libanius the sophist of Antioch to Priscianus Governor of Palestina Prima (*c.* AD 364, Greek):[28]

Those who venerate the sun without (performing) blood (sacrifices) and honour it as a god of the second grade and chastise their appetites and look

[26] Cf. Egger *et al.* (ed.) (1926), II, 52–3 and 73, Inscription 73. See also the important study of Cumont and Kugener (1912), 175–7.

[27] The term 'virgin' (Gr. *parthenos*) is used in Coptic Manichaean texts synonymously with *electa.* See esp. *Hom*. 22.6.

[28] *Ep*. 1253, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera,* xi, 329; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Seeck (1906), 244–5.

upon their last day as their gain are found in many places of the world but everywhere a few only. They harm no one but they are harassed by some people. I wish that those of them who live in Palestine may have your authority for refuge and be free from anxiety and that those who wish to harm them may not be allowed to do so.

However, as elsewhere, it is accounts of Christian success that were mainly preserved by the victorious church; for instance, the conversion of a Manichaean leading citizen in Sparta to orthodox Christianity by the holy man Sarapion the Sidonite (end of fourth century?, Greek):[29]

However, having come to the country where the Spartans live, he heard that one of the first men of the city was a Manichaean with all his house, though virtuous in other respects. To him again he sold himself as he had done at first; and within two years he induced him to forsake his heresy, and brought him to the church and his wife also. Then they loved him no longer as a servant, but treated him as a true brother or father and glorified God.

The following text recounts another success, resulting from the debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza, as told by Mark the deacon (*c.* 400, Greek).[30]

85. About that time, a woman from Antioch named Julia arrived in the city, she confessed to the abominable heresy of those known as Manichaeans; now, discovering that among the Christians there were some neophytes who were not yet confirmed in the holy faith, this woman infiltrated herself among them, and surreptitiously corrupted them with her impostor's doctrine, and still further by giving them money. For the inventor of the said atheist heresy was unable to attract followers except by bribing them. In fact, the said doctrine, at least, for those in their right minds, is full of every kind of blasphemy, damnable things and old wives' tales, only useful for attracting feeble women and childish men, short on reasoning and intelligence. This false doctrine of different heresies and pagan beliefs was created with the treacherous and fraudulent intention of enticing all kinds of people. In fact the Manichaeans worship many gods, thus wishing

[29] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 37.8, ed. Bartelink (1974), 186–7 (64–71); trans. Lowther Clarke (1918), 130.

[30] Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–91, eds. Gregoire and Kugener (1930) 66–71; Eng. trans. Lieu and S. Vince. Cf. Burkitt (1925), 7–11, Trombley (1993), 229–34, Lim (1995), 16–30 and Scopello (1997). Considerable doubt exists over the authenticity of the *vita* because of the numerous anachronisms and chronological and prosopographical errors which it contains; but the account of the debate fits well with our knowledge of public debates between Christian and Manichaean leaders of this period.

to please the pagans; besides which, they believe in horoscopes, fate, and astrology in order to be able to sin without fear since, according to them, we are not really accountable for sin, it is the result of a fateful necessity.

86. They also confess Christ, but claim that he was only apparently incarnate. As well as that, they who claim to be Christians themselves only appear to be so. I leave aside that which is ridiculous and offensive in order to avoid filling my audience's ears with the sound of scandalous words and monstrous suggestions. For they constructed their heresy by mixing the fables of the comic Philistion, Hesiod and other so-called philosophers with Christian beliefs. Just as a painter obtains the semblance of a man, an animal or some other object by mixing colours to delude the viewers, so that fools and madmen believe these images are real, whereas sensible people will only see in them shadows, portent and human invention. In the same way, the Manichaeans have created their doctrine by drawing on many beliefs; or, in other words, they have mixed the venom from various reptiles to make a deadly poison capable of destroying human souls. For as I have said, on the arrival of this pestilential woman, some Christians allowed themselves to be taken in by her false teaching.

87. Some days later, warned by some of the faithful, Porphyry sent for her and questioned her about herself, her origins and the doctrine she followed. The woman gave her country of birth and declared that she was Manichaean. Her companions were seized with rage (the bishop had some zealous Christians with him). The holy man told them not to be angry; but patiently to admonish the guilty woman *once and twice* according to the word of the holy apostle. Then he said to the woman: 'My sister, abstain from this false doctrine, because it is Satan's.' She answered: 'Speak and listen: either you will convince me, or you will be convinced.' The holy man said to her: 'Prepare yourself to come here tomorrow.' She took leave of him and withdrew. Having fasted and prayed to Christ at length in order to confound the devil, the holy man prepared himself for the next day. He invited some of the clerks and pious laity to the meeting he was to have with the woman.

88. The next day, the woman arrived with two men and two women. All four of them were young and good-looking, but very pale; as for Julia, she was well on in years. All of them, especially Julia, based their reasoning on the order of world knowledge. Their attitude was humble and they spoke quietly, as befits the word: *Wolves in sheep's clothing* and venomous beasts. Everything they do and everything they say is hypocrisy. Then, asked to sit down, they began the discussion. The saint, bearing the scriptures, first made the sign of the cross, and began to question Julia, asking her

to state her belief. She began her account of it. As for brother Cornelius, the aforementioned deacon, who had studied the writings of Ennomos (on short-hand systems?)[31] on the orders of the blessed bishop; he took down all that was said, and all the answers, dictated by brother Barochas and myself. I have not transcribed their dialogue in this book because it is too long and I wanted the present writing to be precise; but I have put the conversation into another work[32] for those who would like to know about the wisdom which God gave to saint Porphyry, and the *old wives' tales* told by Julia, the poisoner given to monstrous ramblings, who is swiftly brought to divine justice.

89. Now when she had uttered her usual copious and lengthy stories and blasphemies against the lord and God of the universe, the holy man Porphyry, seeing he who encompasses all things visible and invisible blasphemed by a woman possessed of the devil and subservient to his will, made the following accusation to her: 'God who has made all things, the one eternal being without beginning or end, he who is glorified in the Trinity will strike your tongue and stop your mouth to prevent you from uttering blasphemies.'

90. Punishment followed quickly upon sentence. Julia began to shake and her expression changed. She remained for a long time as if in ecstasy; she no longer spoke, but remained silent and motionless, her eyes wide open and fixed upon the most holy bishop. Seeing what had happened to her, her companions were terrified. They tried to revive her, murmuring incantations in her ear; but she said not a word, and heard nothing. Having remained silent for a long time, she gave up the ghost and returned to the darkness which she revered and considered as light, according to the scripture which says: *Woe unto those who make sweetness bitter and bitterness sweet, who change darkness into light, and light into darkness*. The holy man Porphyry ordered her body to be placed in a shroud and buried, out of pity for human nature; for he was extremely merciful.

91. And all those who learned of the events were seized with great stupefaction, not only those of our faith, but also the pagans. As for the two men and two women who accompanied Julia, and all those who had been beguiled by her, they ran to throw themselves at the feet of the blessed bishop, crying: 'We have sinned!' And they asked for pardon. The saint made all of them anathematise Mani, the founder of their heresy, he to whom they owe their title of Manichaeans. And, having duly instructed

[31] Scopello (1997) comm. *ad loc*., p. 190 suggests other readings, e.g. *ek nomou semeia* 'les signes de la loi'.

[32] This separate work has unfortunately not survived.

them for several days, he led them to the holy catholic church. On the occasion of their conversion other gentiles repented and were baptised.

33. The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph

According to this text, the Manichaeans at Ziph (in Palestine) were converted through the monk Euthymius (before AD 428, Greek).[33]

In this region (i.e. Caparbaricha) he (i.e. Euthymius) founded a monastery. The cause of the foundation of this monastery is said to have been as follows. A son of a certain headman of the village of Aristobulias had an evil spirit and would in his shrieks invoke the holy Euthymius by name. The father of the boy, hearing of Euthymius's being in the region between his village and Caparbaricha, made search and came to him. As soon as the youth saw the saint, he was thrown into convulsions and the demon came out of him, at which he was cured. When the miracle was noised abroad, people came to him from Aristobulias and the villages round about and built him a monastery; some brethren gathered and remained with him while God satisfied their bodily needs. Some of the people of Ziph who had formerly adopted the heresy called after 'mania'[34] renounced the impure heresy as a result of his inspired teaching; declaring anathema on Manes, its begetter, they were instructed in the catholic and apostolic faith and baptised.

34. The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon

The anti-Manichaean books of Heraclianus (fl. early-mid fifth century AD?) are only known to us as described by the patriarch Photius of Constantinople (Greek).[35]

I (i.e. Photius) read the twenty books of Heraclianus, bishop of Chalcedon, *Against the Manichaeans*. His style is concise, free from redundancies, lofty, not wanting in clearness, at the same time tempered with dignity. He combines atticism with ordinary language, like a teacher of boys entering into a contest of superatticism. He refutes the *Gospel*, the *Book of the Giants* and the *Treasures* (i.e. the *Thesaurus*) of the Manichaeans. He also gives a list of those who wrote against the Manichaean impiety before him: Hegemonius, who wrote out the disputation of Archelaus against Manes

[33] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 12, ed. Schwartz (1939) 22.22–23.3; Eng. trans. Price (1991) 18. On this episode, see esp. Stroumsa (1985) 276.
[34] A standard word-play in Christian polemics.
[35] Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b) ed. P. Henry, 9–10; Eng. trans. Freese (1920) 151–2, revised by S. Lieu.

(i.e. Mani); Titus, who was supposed to be an opponent of the Manichaeans, whereas he rather attacked the writings of Addas; George of Laodicea, who uses nearly the same arguments as Titus against the impious heresy; Serapion, bishop of Thmuis; lastly, Diodorus, who wrote twenty-five books against the Manichaeans, in the first seven of which he imagines that he is refuting the *Living Gospel* of Manes, instead of the work of Addas named *Modion* (i.e. Bushel, cf. Mark 4.19), as is really the case. In the remaining books he explains and clears up the meaning of certain passages in the scriptures which the Manichaeans were in the habit of appropriating to support their own views. Such is his account of Diodorus. Any statements in the works of these fathers (as the pious Heraclianus calls them) that do not appear to be sufficiently emphatic, he briefly confirms, carefully supplies what is missing, and quotes with approval in their entirety passages which are adequate for the purpose, adding further reflections of his own.

The man is full of philosophical vigour, and is admirably equipped with the theoretical knowledge of other branches of learning. Hence, he energetically combats and overthrows the trifling fables of Manichaeus, and from the consideration of what exists refutes the fabulous nonsense about being.

This treatise against the Manichaeans was written at the request of a certain Achillius, whom the author calls his faithful and beloved son. This Achillius, seeing that the Manichaean heresy was growing, begged that it might be publicly refuted, and this work was written, an unexceptionable triumph over impiety. This most pious Heraclianus flourished in . . .[36]

MANICHAEISM IN ITALY AND NORTH AFRICA

35. The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer

The selection of texts turns now to the autobiographical passages from Augustine's *Confessions*. This episode must be dated to *c.* 374 (Latin).[37]

Thus did I fall among men mad with pride, extremely carnal and talkative, in whose mouths were the snares of the devil, smeared with a sticky mixture

[36] The loss of the date is most unfortunate and there is no agreement among scholars on the date of Heraclianus. Since few Manichaean canonical works would have survived in the sixth century because of the severity of the anti-heretical laws of Justinian, Heraclianus was most likely to have flourished before the end of the fifth century.

[37] Augustinus, *Confessiones*, III.VI.10, eds. Gibb and Montgomery (1908) 61–2; Eng. trans. Bourke, (1953), 57 (slightly adapted). On this passage see the detailed commentary by O'Donnell (1992) II, 173–81.

of the syllables of your name and that of our lord Jesus Christ and of the Paraclete our consoler, the Holy Spirit.[38] These names never left their lips, but were empty sound and the rattling of the tongue; for the rest, their heart was void of truth. They kept saying: 'Truth, truth'; and they said often to me, yet it was never in them. Rather they continually spoke false things, not only of you, who are truly the truth, but also of the elements of this world, your creatures.

Augustine accepts the alimentary rationale of the sect:[39]

While I was ignorant of this, I ridiculed those who are your saintly servants and prophets. And what was I doing while ridiculing them but becoming more ridiculous in your sight, gradually and little by little being drawn into such foolishness that I believed that a fig weeps when it is plucked, and that the tree, its mother, sheds milky tears?[40] And, if some "saint" ate this fig, plucked by another man and not by his own impious action, he would blend it in his bowels and breathe forth angels from it, even little pieces of God were imprisoned in this fruit unless released by the teeth of the 'elect.' Unfortunately, I believed that mercy should be shown to the fruits of the earth rather than to the men for whom they were produced. For, if a hungry man, not a Manichaean, were to ask for food and if it were given him, I would have thought that mouthful destined to receive capital punishment.

Monica, mother of Augustine, comforted by a Christian bishop who had once been a Manichaean scribe:[41]

Yes, you did give another answer through your priest, a certain bishop who was educated in the church and well trained in your books. When that woman (Monica) begged him to be good enough to talk with me and refute my errors, to teach me to unlearn evil things and to learn good things (he would do this whenever he happened to find any suitable listeners), he refused, prudently of course, as I later realised. He replied that I was not yet teachable, due to the fact that I was puffed up with pride at the novelty of

[38] In the *Psalm-Book* (*PsBk2*. 49.29–31) we find the Father of Light, Jesus the Splendour and Mani the Paraclete praised as a form of Trinity. However Mani, who claimed to be the Paraclete through his divine Syzygos, was not always identified with the Holy Spirit. In the opening section of the Parthian *Sermon of the Light-Nous*, readers are requested to make obeisance to 'Father, . . . Son and Holy Spirit' (M351 R 1–2, ed. Sundermann (1992), §1, p. 62).

[39] Aug., *Conf.* III.x.18, ed. cit. 74–5; trans. cit. 67–8 (slightly adapted). Augustine gives a fuller explanation of the redemptive role of the digestive systems of the *electi* in *de mor. Manich*. XV.36; cf. BeDuhn (2000), 171–2.

[40] On weeping / bleeding plants see *CMC* 6–10 (above, **3**); also Aug., *c. Faust.* VI.4.

[41] Aug., *Conf.* III.xii.21, ed. cit. 77; trans. cit. 70–1 (slightly adapted).

that heresy and that I had disturbed many unlearned people with all sorts of trifling questions, as she had pointed out to him. 'But,' he said, 'let him stay where he is. Just pray to the lord for him. He will find out himself, by reading, what the error is and how great an impiety.' At the same time he also told her how he, as a little boy, was given over to the Manichaeans by his mother, who had been led astray, and that he had not only read nearly all their writings, but had even copied them often, and, without anyone arguing in opposition or convincing him, it became clear to him how much this sect was to be avoided. And so he had left it.

A visit to Carthage by the Manichaean bishop Faustus, as recounted by Augustine (383):[42]

I shall speak out, in the sight of my God, concerning that twenty-ninth year of my life. A certain Manichaean bishop, Faustus[43] by name, had just come to Carthage. He was a great snare of the devil and many people were trapped by the lure of the sweetness of his speech. Now, though I did admire this, I was becoming able to distinguish it from the truth of things which I was eager to learn. I looked not to the kind of vessel in which his discourse was served, but to what this highly reputed Faustus was putting before me as food for knowledge. For I had heard advance reports about him, that he was most expert in all worthwhile teachings and especially learned in the liberal arts.

Augustine's disappointment with Faustus (383):[44]

12. For after it was quite clear to me that he was unlearned in those arts in which I had thought that he excelled, I began to lose hope that it would be possible for him to clarify and resolve the matters which were troubling me. Of course, he could have been quite ignorant of these matters and still have possessed the truth of piety, but only if he had not been a Manichaean. For, their books are filled with the most lengthy fables about the heavens, the stars, the sun, and the moon. Now, what I desired really from him was that a careful explanation be given me as to whether these things, in the light of the conflicting numerical explanations that I had read elsewhere, were indeed just as the books of Mani showed them, or at least whether an equally acceptable explanation could be gained from those books. That he could do this I no longer believed.

[42] Aug., *Conf.* v.iii.3, ed. cit. 109–10; trans. cit. 103 (slightly adapted).

[43] A native of Milevis in Numidia, his parents were pagans. On this best known of Manichaean leaders in the Roman West, see especially Brückner (1901), 1–18 and Decret (1970), 51–70.

[44] Aug., *Conf.* v.vii.12–13, ed. cit. 118–19; trans. cit. 112–13 (slightly adapted).

Nevertheless, when I did present these things for consideration and discussion, he quite modestly refused to take up the burden. He knew that he was ignorant of these things and he was not ashamed to confess it. He was not like those persons, whose loquacity I have often endured, who have tried to teach me these things and have said nothing. This man was possessed of a heart, though not properly directed to you, which was, however, not lacking in prudent care of himself. He was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance and he refused to be forced into a rash discussion of something from which there was not exit, or easy way out, for himself. Even in this, he pleased me all the more. For, the moderation of a frank mind is more beautiful than those things which I craved to know. Such did I find him in regard to all the more difficult and subtle problems.

13. And so, when the interest which I had directed to the works of the Manichaeans was turned aside, and I was less hopeful of their other teachers, because, in the many problems which I had, that renowned master made this poor showing, I began to spend some time with him because of his own enthusiastic interest in that very literature of which I was then a rhetorician, already teaching to the young men of Carthage. Thus, I read with him either the things he knew by repute and wanted to hear, or which I judged suitable to his natural bent. For the rest, any desire of mine to make progress in that sect was definitely killed when I came to know that man. Not that I parted company with them completely, but, as one who could find nothing better than what I had already somehow or other fallen into, I had decided to be content for the time being, unless, perchance, something else which seemed preferable should appear.

Thus, that man Faustus, who had been for so many people a deadly snare, unwillingly and unknowingly began now to loosen that snare of mine in which I had been caught.

Augustine was taken care of by the Manichaeans at Rome, who also helped him to secure the Chair of Rhetoric in Milan (end of 383 to early 384):[45]

18. . . . I was associating even then, in Rome,[46] with those false and fallacious "saints":[47] not just with their hearers, to which rank the man in whose home I recuperated and regained my health,[48] but even with those whom they call

[45] Aug., *Conf.* v.x.18–xiii.23 (with omissions), ed. cit. 126–7; trans. cit. 119–25 (slightly adapted).

[46] Augustine left Carthage for Rome at the end of 383 to pursue his career as a rhetorician. Faustus, who had been based in Italy before, probably gave him the necessary introductions to the members of the community in Rome. Manichaeans were well known for their hospitality to visiting co-believers.

[47] The Manichaeans in the west did consider themselves a community of saints. On this see Lim (1989).

[48] This auditor or hearer was very likely Constantius who later tried to establish a Manichaean community in Rome. See next section.

the elect. For, up to that time, it seemed to me that it is not we who sin, but some other unknown nature within us which sins. It was a joy to my pride to be set apart from culpability, and, when I had done some evil thing, not to confess that I had done it (so that you might heal my soul because it was sinning against you), but I loved rather to excuse myself and accuse some other unknown being which existed with me and yet was not I. In truth, of course, the whole was myself, and my impiety had divided against myself. This sin was all the more incurable because I did not consider myself a sinner . . . So, until then, I associated with their elect, but now, losing hope that I could make any progress in that false teaching, I followed its tenets with a slackness and negligence, determined to acquiesce in them only if I could find nothing better.

I did not neglect to criticise my host's overcredulity, which I felt he had in regard to the fabulous things with which the Manichaean books were filled. I continued, however, in closer friendship with the Manichaeans than with other men who did not belong to this heresy. I did not defend it with my original zeal, but their friendship (Rome concealed a good many of them) made me less eager to seek anything else, particularly since I had no hope of finding the truth in your church, o lord of heaven and earth, creator of all things visible and invisible. . . .

xiii.23. After a time, a request was sent from Milan to the prefect of Rome that a master of rhetoric be provided for that city, and he was to travel by public conveyance. I myself made the round of those men who were intoxicated with Manichaean vanities (from whom my departure was to separate me, though neither they nor I were aware of it) so that I might be granted an audition, and, when approved, the prefect, who was Symmachus[49] at that time, would send me.

36. A Manichaean house at Rome

Augustine's account of a failed attempt by the Manichaean hearer Constantius to set up a hostel for mendicant Manichaean *electi* in Rome (between AD 384 and 388, Latin).[50]

What more shall I say about your practices? I have mentioned the things that I myself discovered and which took place while I was in that city.

[49] Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who was *Praefectus Urbi* 384/5, was a staunch pagan. He probably appointed Augustine to counterbalance the influence of Ambrose, the bishop of the city.

[50] Augustinus, *De moribus Manichaeorum,* XX (74), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) 154–6; Eng. trans. D. A. and I. J. Gallagher (1966), 115–16. On this episode see esp. Decret (1978), II, 12–13 n. 8; and Courcelle (1968), 227–9.

What went on at Rome during my absence would take too long to describe in detail, but I shall give a brief account of it, for the affair erupted with such violence that it could not remain hidden, even from those who were absent. Later on when I was back in Rome, I was able to verify everything I had heard, although the person who had related the story had himself been present and was so well known to me and so reliable that I could not doubt him in the least.

One of your hearers,[51] a man unsurpassed even by the elect in their famous abstinence, and liberally educated as well, was eager to defend your sect and used to do so with great eloquence. He was very much perturbed that the opponents so often brought up the profligate behaviour of the elect who lived disordered lives, scattered about in the poorest lodgings. Therefore, he wanted to gather all those who were prepared to live according to the precepts into his own house, if it were possible, and to maintain them at his own expense, for he cared little for money and had more than ordinary wealth. He complained, however, that his efforts in this direction were hindered by the laxity of the bishops, whose co-operation was indispensable to the plan.

At last, a certain bishop of yours (i.e. the Manichaeans) was found, a man altogether crude and unpolished, as I myself know, yet somehow, on account of this rough nature, more strict in the observance of good morals. The hearer seized upon this man, so long awaited and now at hand, and placed before him his plan. The bishop commended him and agreed to be the first one to take up his abode in the house. As soon as this was accomplished, all of the elect who were able to be at Rome were gathered together and the rule of life from the epistle of Manichaeus was set forth. It appeared intolerable to many of them, and they departed. However, quite a few remained out of shame. They began to live as they had agreed to and as their great authority had prescribed, while the hearer began vigorously to enforce everything upon everyone, although nothing which he did not first take upon himself.

Meanwhile, quarrels broke out repeatedly among the elect, and they hurled recriminations at one another. Distressed over the things he heard, the hearer so arranged it that they unwittingly exposed each other in their altercations. Monstrous and abominable deeds were brought to light. In this way, the character of those who had considered themselves capable of submitting to the full rigour of the precepts was made known. What, then,

[51] The name of the hearer was Constantius. Cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* V.5, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25/1 (Vienna, 1891), 277.21.

must we suspect of the others, or rather, what is to be our judgement of them? And then what? They at last got together and complained that the rules could not be kept. A revolt broke out. The hearer presented his case in a brief disjunction, that either the whole rule had to be observed, or else he who had prescribed a rule with conditions that no one could fulfil must be regarded as an utter fool. Nevertheless, and it could hardly have been otherwise, the violent uproar of the crowd prevailed over the opinion of one man. The bishop himself finally gave up and fled in complete disgrace, for it was reported that he had often been discovered with food smuggled in against the rule, and that he had a purse full of money which he kept carefully hidden.

37. Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine

Secundinus writes from Rome, questioning the depth of the latter's involvement in the sect (*c.* AD 405/6, Latin).[52]

Secundinus to Augustine, the lord who is deservedly to be honoured and praised and uniquely to be venerated.

I feel and express my gratitude to the ineffable and most holy majesty and to his first born, the king of all lights Jesus Christ, and I humbly bring the gratitude I feel to the Holy Spirit, because they have given and offered me the opportunity to greet freely your excellent holiness, lord, who are deservedly to be praised and uniquely to be venerated. Nor is it surprising, for they are most capable and most powerful both at providing all good things and at warding off all evils; from which may they protect your goodness with their defences, and rescue it from that evil – not the one which is nothing or which is produced by the strife and passion of mortals, but the one which has been made ready to come. Woe to him who shall have offered himself as its opportunity! For you deserve to receive such gifts from them and that they should be made nurturers of your truth, you who are really a lantern which the right hand of truth has placed in the lampstand of your heart, to stop the inheritance of your treasure being despoiled by the arrival of the thief. They should order that your house should stand without collapsing, as you have built it not upon the sand of error, but on the rock of knowledge; and should deflect from us that evil spirit which strikes fear and treachery into men, so as to divert souls from the narrow path of the saviour. (894) That spirit's every assault is spread

[52] Secundinus, *epistula ad Augustinum*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 893–901; Eng. trans. M. Vermes. The letter precedes Augustine's polemical treatise *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, ibid., 905–47. On Secundinus see Desmulliez *et al.* (eds.) (2000), 2008–9 ('Secundinus 2').

abroad by means of those princes against whom the apostle states in his letter to the Ephesians that he has entered the battle. For he says that he 'is battling not against flesh and blood, but against princes and powers, against the spiritual forces of evil that exist in the heavens.' And rightly so. For who would take up weapons to fight, and not to fight against an armed enemy, against the one who is on the attack? For as the bodies of men are the weapons of sin, so the precepts of salvation are the weapons of righteousness. This is what Paul testifies, and this is what Manichaeus himself testifies.

Therefore it is not a fight involving weapons, but involving spirits that use those weapons. However they fight for the sake of souls. In their midst is placed a soul, to which from the beginning its own nature has given the victory. If this soul has acted in unity with the spirit of virtues, with that spirit it shall have eternal life and possess that kingdom to which our lord invites us; if on the other hand it begins to be led astray by the spirit of vices and gives its consent, and then after its consent shows repentance, it will obtain a source of pardon for these disgraces. For it is seduced by being mixed with flesh, not by its own volition; but if having learnt to know itself it consents to evil and does not arm itself against the enemy, it has sinned by its own volition. If it is once again ashamed of its error then it will find the author of mercies ready. For it is not punished because it has sinned, but because it has not repented of its sin. Yet if it passes away in that same sin without pardon, then it will be shut out, then it will be like the foolish virgin, then it will be the heir of the left hand, then it will be driven by the lord from the wedding banquet because of its black clothing, to where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth, and it shall go with the devil to the fire of his own origin. Your remarkable learning either recounts that the devil was made from an archangel (p. 895) or states that he is nothing. Why in that case shall the just reign? Why shall apostles and martyrs be crowned? Is it entirely because they have won nothing? How greatly is the victor's power nullified, when his opponent is already stated to have no strength! Change your opinion I beg you, cast off the treachery of your Punic race[53] and change your conversion, that you made from fear, back to the truth. Do not make excuses with these lies.

My slight and nondescript Roman intellect[54] has read a number of writings by your reverend honour, in which you show as much anger with

[53] An almost 'racist' reference to Augustine's North African backgound.

[54] This is normally taken as a reference to the fact that Secundinus wrote from Rome and that he knew Augustine when he sojourned with the sect in the city. However, the term 'Roman' here could be used simply as a contrast to that of 'Punic'.

the truth[55] as does Hortensius with philosophy.[56] When I had read them a second and third time with my judgement suspended and a quick eye, I found everywhere a supreme orator and almost a god of complete eloquence, but nowhere did I discover a Christian. I found someone armed against everything, but affirming nothing, when you ought to have shown yourself more skilful in knowledge than in rhetoric. I cannot keep silent about it before your most patient holiness. For it seems to me – and this is definitely the case – that you have never been a Manichaean, and never been able to discover the unknown mysteries of his secret, and that under the name of Manichaeus you are attacking Hannibal or Mithridates.[57] For I confess that the marbles of the Anician house do not shine with as much diligence[58] or such hard effort as the eloquence with which your writings gleam. If you had determined that this eloquence should match the truth then certainly a magnificent ornament would have been erected for us. Do not, I beg you, go against your own nature, do not be the spear of error, with which the saviour's side is pierced. You can see that he is crucified both all over the world and in every soul, when his soul (p. 896) never had the nature of being angered. You therefore, who derive from that soul, now cease, I beg you, your empty accusations and abandon your pointless controversies. All the time that you were kept with your father in the midst of darkness you never played the joker, but in open sunlight and moonlight you have been proven the accuser. Who therefore will be your advocate before the just tribunal of the judge, when you begin to be convicted by your own testimony from both your statements and your deeds? The Persian whom you have accused[59] will not be there. Without him who will console your weeping? Who will save the Carthaginian? Or has there been a correction in the Gospel, so that the broad way does not lead to perdition? Or is it incorrect in Paul, so that each individual will not have to render account of their deeds? How much better it would have been if when you left Manichaeus you had joined the Academy or written an exposition of the wars of the Romans who conquered the world. What great and noble

[55] I.e. Manichaeism.

[56] It was Cicero's (now lost) work *Hortensius* which first introduced Augustine to philosophical inquiry. Cf. Aug., *Conf.* III.iv.7–8.

[57] Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus (later Cilicia) who rebelled against Rome in 88 BC and nearly succeeded in expelling Roman suzerainty from Asia Minor. He and Hannibal were traditionally seen as Rome's most dangerous enemies. The fact that Hannibal also came from Carthage continues Secundinus's attack on Augustine's 'Africanness'.

[58] Anicius: cf. Cicero *Brutus* 83. A reference to the gleaming marbles of Rome. On this see Decret (1978), I, 143.

[59] I.e. Mani. The idea of Mani playing a role in the last judgement is not Manichaean.

achievements you would have found there, and you, a chaste man of absolute modesty and poverty, would not have gone over to the Jewish tribes with their barbaric customs. Now you add their stories to your precepts and you include 'the fornicating wife' (Hos. 1:2) and 'you will make sons of the fornicating woman' and 'by fornication the earth will be polluted away from the Lord' (Gen. 24:2 and 47:29). Also 'you shall not wash your hands after intercourse with your wife' (Lev. 11:2), and 'put your hands on my thigh' and 'kill and eat' and 'grow and multiply' (Gen. 1:28). Did the lions in the pit please you because there were no cages? (Dan. 6:16ff.) Or were you saddened by Sara's sterility, when her husband had been the one to divert her from her honour by pretending she was his sister? (Gen. 12:13, 20:2) Perhaps after the contest of Dares and Entellus[60] you had wanted to await Jacob and his wrestling match? (Gen. 32:24) (p. 897) Or had you set yourself to count the number of the Amorites (Josh. 10:5) or the pancarpus in Noah's ark (Gen. 7)? I know that you have always hated these things, I know that you have always loved great things, that quit the earth, and seek the heavens, that mortify the body and give life to the soul. So who is it that has suddenly changed you?

Although to say these things to your holiness is the height of absurdity. For you yourself are well aware how wicked he is and how evil, and how he campaigns even against the faithful and best men with so much guile, that he forced Peter to deny his lord three times in the same night (Matt. 26:69–75), and when he arose prevented Thomas from believing in him (John 20:24–26). These wounds were relieved by the medicine of pardon. But even bolder was this act: that when the lord was sowing the best seed he mixed in darnel and snatched Iscariot away from such a shepherd. So that it should be brought to the final punishment of the cross, he incited the scribes and Pharisees to his destruction, so that they shouted for Barabbas to be released and Jesus to be crucified. Therefore we have escaped because we have followed a spiritual saviour. For such was the outpouring of that one's audacious behaviour that, if our lord had been of the flesh, then all our hope would have been severed. And yet he could not be satisfied even by the ignominy of the cross, but in his rage forced him first to be crowned with thorns and then given vinegar to drink, to be pierced with the soldiers' spear and then to suffer blasphemy from the lips of the robber on his left. Afterwards (p. 898) his wickedness grew so far that he devised various problems for him and his apostles who gathered there, under their name, which is all the worse, dividing among all the superstitious the dignity of the

[60] A reference to the wrestling match in *Aen.* 5.362ff. of Vergil – Augustine's favourite poet.

term Catholic. For I omit how far he armed each of the disciples against the magistrates, and how far he deceived Hymenaeus (1Tim. 1:20), or Alexander (2Tim. 4:14), and his deeds at Antioch, at Smyrna or at Iconium (2Tim. 3:11). I only now add the activities of the present multitude, from which virtue is as far removed as it is a closed book to the people. For it is not virtue to which the crowd has attained, and especially the crowd of women; but I hesitate to make their secrets public, lest crimes begun by others be reproduced. Yet it is the role of the wise to tolerate both, to laugh at both, and to strive only for that which engenders beatitude and which nurtures life.

And still I humbly entreat you again and again, I beg and beseech you time after time, first to deem me worthy of pardon, if any statement of mine has irritated your heart of gold. For I have written this from excess zeal, because I do not want you to be plucked from our flock; even I myself might have wandered from it and nearly perished, but that I quickly saved myself from a wicked form of communion. Secondly, I beseech you to reconcile yourself to the communion which has done you no wrong; return to the communion which if you do return will not be angry with you for your guilt. For it does not (p. 899) know forgiveness only seven times (Matt. 18:22), rather it has the power both to bind and to release (Matt. 16:19 and 18:18). Do not imagine you are touching, since you saw long ago; do not wish to learn, as you are able to teach. Cast aside status among men, if you wish to please Christ. Be a new Paul for our times:[61] though he was a doctor of Jewish law, when he had won from the lord the privilege of being an apostle, everything he had thought pleasurable he despised as dung (Phil. 3:8), in order to gain Christ. Bring aid to your bright soul, because you do not know at what hour the thief is coming. Do not adorn the dead, because you are the ornament of the living. Do not be a companion on the broad way, because it awaits the Amorite, but hurry to the narrow way, in order to win eternal life. Stop, I beg you, enclosing Christ within a womb, lest you yourself be enclosed once again in a womb. Stop making two natures into one, because the judgement of the lord is approaching. Woe to those who will meet him and who are changing sweetness to bitterness!

However, if you have doubts about the origin or are uncertain about the commencement of the battle, then an explanation can be given in a lengthy disquisition and a peaceful conference. Yet, I want to make it clear to your supremely wise goodness that there are certain things which

[61] A very apt challenge for Augustine to be the leading Manichaean apostle of his age given the importance of Paul's apostolicity to Mani's own prophetic credentials.

cannot be explained in such a way that they can be understood; for divine reason surpasses the hearts of men. For example this question, as to how there are two natures or why he, who could not suffer anything, fought. Or again what he also says about the new age, that it is to be built from the broken fragments of this great earth; but who would admit that there can be a fragmentation among divine elements? Unless that is you were to (p. 900) make an image of the speaker compared to the hearer: words are fragmented in the hearer's case and put together in the speaker's. However many words the lecturer has spoken, that the hearer holds to himself, yet they have not departed from the lecturer. Unless this is your view also about that age, then what is said is quite stupid and inane. Similarly also with the fight. Unless you first postulate that God in his entirety is justice, but it is the utmost crime to attack someone else's domain, and further when the opposite nature invaded, God certainly could suffer nothing, because of his foreknowledge, then he would have appeared to have given consent to the crime had he not fought back. He opposed his great virtue[62] to the invader, so that his own justice would not be polluted by any consent to sacrilege. For the just man has been formed by him in such a way that he never sins himself nor ever gives his consent to the sinner. Moreover God in his kingdom had power over nature, being omnipotent and judge. If these things have been said with the result, not that God was created, but that I have not had the ability to comprehend, they still do not suffice for apostasy; but neither has the sun risen for the blind, nor has a voice been heard by the deaf nor a feast prepared for the dead. That places cannot be assigned to natures is a fact which the human condition calls inexplicable and indescribable; but the saviour, for whom everything is easy, calls these two places right and left, inside and outside, "come and go". Whereas you do the opposite and take a poetic foot – for example *orbis, vita, salus, lumen, lex, ordo, potestas* – and if it is a voiced syllable you treat it as silent, and a long one you pronounce short. (p. 901) These natures do not agree in this way, but they certainly mean two things, separated from one another.

Yet, when such things are expounded by me to your admirable supreme intelligence, it is as if the Jordan were bringing water to the ocean, or a lantern light to the sun, or a people sanctity to their bishop. Therefore, you should tolerate whatever this letter contains. For had I not known of your divine patience, which readily pardons each person, I would never have written in such a way, although you can see that I have touched my deepest feelings only cursorily and have taken the greatest care not to appear to you

[62] I.e. the Primal Man.

verbose. Accordingly these thoughts shall find acceptance by your holiness, as will the method of our salvation; otherwise you will be able to produce as a result thousands of volumes, lord who are deservedly to be praised and uniquely to be venerated. Farewell.

38. The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's

Firmus was a Manichaean merchant. This occupation was much favoured by the community, as it did not sin against the living soul (as, for instance, farming or baking would); and equally the cross-cultural elements of the faith may be supposed to have appealed to traders and travellers. This account is from Possidius's *Life of Augustine*, and the episode should probably be dated prior to AD 421 (Latin).[63]

I (i.e. Possidius) remember, and so do my brethren and fellow servants who at that time were living with the holy man at Hippo, that when we were living with the holy man at Hippo, that when we were seated at table Augustine remarked: 'In church today did you notice that the beginning and end of my sermon were contrary to my usual method? I did not fully explain the subject I introduced, but left it unfinished.' Thereupon, we replied: 'Yes, we know it and we recall our surprise at the time.' To which Augustine answered: 'I believe that the lord perhaps wished some erring person to be taught and healed by our forgetfulness and error on that occasion, for both we and our sermons are in the lord's hands. As I was still considering the introduction of my proposed topic, I digressed and changed to another subject. Thus, without concluding and fully explaining the original question which I had started out to prove, I closed my sermon with an argument against the error of the Manichaeans, about which I had intended to say nothing.'

On the next day or the day following, if I am not mistaken, a certain merchant, Firmus by name, came to the holy Augustine as he was sitting with us in the monastery. The stranger fell upon his knees and prostrated himself at the feet of Augustine, shedding tears and begging the priest and his holy companions to intercede with the lord for his sins. He confessed that he had followed the Manichaean sect, living in it for many years, and that, therefore, to his sorrow, he had contributed much money to the Manichaeans, or rather to their so-called elect. Recently, however, by the mercy of God, he had been present in church, was converted and became a Catholic through Augustine's words. Thereupon, when the venerable Augustine himself and those of us who were present at the time diligently

[63] Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15; Eng. trans. Müller and Deferrari (1952) 90–91.

inquired what had particularly struck him in that sermon, he told us, and we recalled the trend of Augustine's discourse. In wonder and admiration at God's profound plan for the salvation of souls, we glorified and blessed his holy name. For he effects their salvation when and how he wishes through his own instruments, whether they are aware of it or not. From that time on, then, Firmus adhered to the manner of life of God's servants, abandoning his career as a merchant. Later, he became conspicuous by his activity among the members of the church and, having been called and constrained by God's will, entered upon the office of presbyter in another region. In this position he constantly maintained the sanctity of his way of life, and perhaps across the sea he is still living an active life in the world.

39. Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean

Victorinus was sub-deacon of Malliana in Mauretania. This episode is reported by Augustine in one of his letters (after AD 395, Latin).[64]

I think the best thing I can do is to write directly to your holiness,[65] so that my negligence may not allow the enemy to lay waste the flock of Jesus Christ in your province, for he never ceases to lay snares to destroy the souls bought at so dear a price. It has come to my knowledge that a certain Victorinus, a subdeacon of Malliana,[66] is a Manichaean, and that he hides his sacrilegious error under the name of cleric. He is also a man of advanced age. He was so well known that I questioned him before he could be arraigned by witnesses; he could not deny the accusation, for he knew that there were many such to whom he had incautiously given himself away. He would have appeared altogether too bold, not to say out of his mind, if he had tried to deny it. He admitted that he was indeed a Manichaean but not an elect . . .[67]

That subdeacon, posing as a Catholic, not only believed those intolerable blasphemies as the Manichaeans do, but he taught them as vigorously as he could. He was discovered by his teaching when he trusted himself, so to speak, to his pupils. Indeed, he asked me, after he had confessed that he was a Manichaean hearer, to lead him back to the way of truth of

[64] Augustinus, *Ep.* 236, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL XLIV (Vienna, 1895), 523.21–524.11 and 525.12–24; Eng. trans. Parsons (1956), 179–81.

[65] i.e. Deuterius, a bishop of Mauretania and a contemporary of Augustine.

[66] On Victorinus see Madouze (ed.) (1982), 1199 ('Victorinus 12')

[67] The section of the letter omitted is a summary of the ethical teaching of the sect which Augustine made for Deuterius who probably knew nothing about the religion. This is given in this book in the chapter on the teaching of Mani (below, **81**).

Catholic doctrine, but I confess I was horrified at his duplicity under his clerical guise and I took steps to have him confined and driven from the city. And I was not satisfied with that until I had notified your holiness by letter that he should be known to all as a person to be shunned, having been degraded from his clerical rank with fitting ecclesiastical severity. If he seeks an opportunity for repentance, let him be believed if he will make known to us the other Manichaeans whom he knows, not only at Malliana but in the whole province.

40. Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage

These events, as related by Augustine, are to be dated between AD 421 and 428 (Latin).[68]

9. In this circumstance, or rather because of some demand of their detestable superstition, their elect are forced to consume a sort of eucharist sprinkled with human seed in order that the divine substance may be freed even from that, just as it is from other foods of which they partake. However, they deny that they do this, claiming that some others do it, using the name of the Manichaeans; but they were exposed in the church at Carthage, as you know, for you were a deacon there at the time when, under the prosecution of Ursus the tribune, who was then prefect of the palace, some of them were brought to trial. At this time a girl by the name of Margaret gave evidence of their obscene practices and claimed, though she was not yet twelve years old, that she had been violated in the performance of this criminal rite. Then with difficulty he compelled Eusebia, some kind of Manichaean nun, to admit that she had undergone the same treatment in this regard, though at first, she maintained that she was a virgin and insisted on being examined by a midwife. When she was examined and when her true condition was discovered, she likewise gave information on that whole loathsome business at which flour is sprinkled beneath a couple in sexual intercourse to receive and commingle with their seed. This she had not heard when Margaret gave her testimony, for she had not been present. Even in recent times some of them have been exposed and brought before ecclesiastical authority, as the 'Episcopal Acts' which you have sent us show. Under careful examination, they admitted that this is no sacrament, but a sacrilege.

10. One of them, whose name is Viator, claimed that those who commit such acts are properly called Catharists. Nevertheless, though he asserted

[68] Augustinus, *De Haeresibus*, XLVI.9–10, ed. and trans. L. Müller (1956) (slightly adapted).

that there are other groups of the Manichaean sect divided into Mattarii and especially Manichaeans, he could not deny that all of these three forms were propagated by the same founder and that all of them are, generally speaking, Manichaeans. Surely the Manichaean books are unquestionably common to all of them, and in these books are described these dreadful things relating to the transformation of males into females, and of females into males to attract and to loosen through concupiscence the princes of darkness of both sexes so that the divine substance which is imprisoned in them may be set free and escape. This is the source of the obscene practices which some of the Manichaeans refuse to admit pertain to them. For they imagine that they are imitating divine powers to the highest degree and so they attempt to purge a part of their god, which they really believe is held befouled just as much in human seed as it is in all celestial and terrestrial bodies, and in the seeds of all things. And for this reason, it follows that they are just as much obliged to purge it from human seed by eating, as they are in reference to other seed which they consume in their food. This is the reason they are also called Catharists, that is, purifiers; for they are so attentive to purifying this part that they do not refrain even from such horrifying food as this.

SELECT LEGISLATIONS AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS FROM THEODOSIUS TO JUSTINIAN

41. Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius

The first of a series of prescripts issued by Theodosius in his name as well as those of his young sons (AD 381, Latin)[69] sets the tone in forbidding members of the sect the right to transfer their property to the sect. The same restriction had already been imposed on the Donatists. This measure would have hit the Manichaeans particularly hard as the *electi* were economically entirely dependent on the philanthropy (Gr. *eusebeia*) of their hearers, especially rich ones like Constantius (*v. supra*, **36**).

The same Augusti (i.e. emperors Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) to Eutropius, praetorian prefect.

If any Manichaean – man or woman – from the day of the law enacted long ago and originally by our parents[70] has transmitted his own property to any person whatsoever by having made a will or under title of any liberality

[69] *CT* XVI.5.7, pp. 857–88; trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), I, 367–8. On Theodosian legislations against the sect, see especially Beskow (1988).

[70] I.e. the edict of 2 March 372 (*CT* XVI.5.3).

whatsoever or by form of donation, or if anyone of these persons has been enriched by grant of an inheritance entered through any form whatsoever (since immediately from the said persons, under branded infamy's perpetual stigma, we withdraw all capability of making a will and of living under Roman law, and since we do not permit them to have the power either of leaving or taking any inheritance), the whole by an immediate investigation on the part of our fisc, should be joined to its resources. Whether by illicit literality this property shall have come to a husband or to a relative or to anyone whatsoever who well has deserved it or even to children, whom indeed the villainies of the same criminal life shall unite, or even if through any intermediate person whatsoever it shall profit the said person who is found to be of such a class and a company of persons it should be claimed under the title of vacancy.[71]

(1) The rule of this law issued by our gentleness should prevail not only for the future but also for the past;[72] whatever either such persons as owners have bequeathed or as heirs have held, the fisc's acquisition of the advantage should ensue. For, although the orderly arrangement of celestial statutes indicates observance of a sacred constitution in respect to matters about to follow afterward and has not been wont to be prejudicial to completed matters, nevertheless in this ordinance only, which we wish to be specially vigorous, by a sense of just instigation we recognise what a habit of obstinacy and a persistent nature deserve and we regard as guilty of sacrilege on the ground of violation of this described law those persons who, even after the law originally had been issued, have not at all been able to be restrained at least by divine admonishment from illicit and profane assemblies. We sanction the present statutes' severity not so much as an example to be established but as a law to be vindicated, so that a defence of time cannot also profit them.[73]

(2) The inheritance of paternal or maternal property should be conferred only on those children who, though born from Manichaeans, yet shall have withdrawn themselves from associations of the said life and profession, because they have been admonished by a sense of and a desire for their own salvation, have dedicated themselves in respect to pure religion, and are immune from such a crime.

[71] In Roman law, heirless (*caducus*) property is passed to the imperial fisc.

[72] We have here a rare example of a retroactive law which is contrary to contemporary principles of Roman law (as stated e.g. in *CT* 1.1.3).

[73] A Manichaean defendant cannot therefore plead that the enactment is not retrospective or that the lapse of time has barred legal action. Cf. Coleman-Norton (1966), 1, 369, n. 13.

(3) To this ordinance we add also the following: that they should establish neither in conventicles of towns[74] nor in famous cities their wonted sepulchres of funeral mysteries; they should be restrained completely from sight in a crowded community.

Nor with malignant fraud they should defend themselves under pretence of those fallacious names, by which many, as we have discovered, desire to be called and to be designated as of approved faith and of rather chaste course of life; especially since some of these persons desire themselves to be denominated Encratitans,[75] Apotactitans,[76] Hydroparastatans,[77] or Saccoforians[78] and by a variety of diverse names falsify – as it were – the services of their religious profession. For it is proper that all these persons should not be protected by a profession of names, but should be held notorious and execrable by the criminality of their sects.

Given on 8 May at Constantinople. Eucherius and Syagrius being consuls.

Mandate on apostate Christians' wills and penalties for Manichaeans (AD 383, Latin):[79]

The same Augusti (viz. Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) to Hypatius, praetorian prefect.

By denial of liberty of making a will we avenge the crime of Christians who turn to altars and temples.

Also should be punished the shameful acts of those who by disregard for the dignity of the Christian religion and name have polluted themselves with Jewish contagions.[80]

But that penalty, which both our predecessor Valentinian of divine authority has assigned and our decrees no less often have ordered, should

[74] A problematic and uncommon phrase *conventicula oppidorum*, the meaning of which is unclear. Meeting places of the sect are usually labelled *conventicula* in legislations but the context here rules out a specific reference to Manichaean conventicles.

[75] One of the earliest ascetic sects, its traditional founder was the Syrian Tatian in the second century AD.

[76] *Apotactikos* – renunciator of marriage and of private property – is also a commonly used term for an ascetic in documents from Roman Egypt.

[77] Little known sect, its title suggests the substitution of water for wine in the eucharist; i.e. ascetics who drink only water, a feature shared by the Manichaeans.

[78] These are radical ascetics who took to the wearing of dark garments made of sack cloth and of long hair (for men) and short hair (for women). On all these groups see the full discussion in Beskow (1998) 8–9. The inclusion of these sects in the legislation points to the reluctance of the church and the Christian emperors to accept the activities of the extreme ascetic wing of the church.

[79] *CT* XVI.7.3, pp. 883–5; trans. Coleman-Norton (1996), II, 385–6.

[80] The mention of Manichaeans alongside Jews is interesting in that Manichaeism was sometimes seen as a non-Christian religion in its own right and not merely as a heretical sect.

follow continually and perpetually those who have preferred at any time to attend the Manichaeans' nefarious retreats and wicked recesses. Moreover the same penalty should follow the authors of this persuasion, who have deflected unsteady minds to their own fellowship, as those guilty of such error; nay, we ordain that even weightier punishments – according to the governors' impulses and to the crime's character – should be imposed generally and extraordinarily upon the nefarious artificers of this wickedness.

But lest either perpetual outrage of accusation should harass the dead or questions of inheritance wholly outdated by the difference of long periods of time should be agitated always into revived conflicts, we assign a limit of time to questions of this character: that, if anyone accuses the deceased of having violated and deserted the Christian religion and contends that the said person went over to the sacrileges of temples or to Jewish rites or to Manichaeans' infamy and affirms that on this account a will not at all could be made, within a continuous quinquennium, which has been established for actions of voidance, he may make use of this action and may obtain the beginning of a future trial of this sort: to the effect that, when the said person whose transgression is to be accused is living and is shown to have been a participant of this shameful act and wicked deed, he, having testified under public attestation, may prove his indictment; for he who through his silence is proved to have shown perfidy to the supernal name, thus acquiescing in such wicked acts, may not make henceforth an accusation about a transgression, as though ignorant of it.

Given on 21 May at Padua, Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus being consuls.

Mandate on the suppression of the meeting places of Manichaeans and their expulsion (AD 383, Latin):[81]

The same Augusti to Postumianus, praetorian prefect.

Absolutely all persons whomsoever the error of diverse heresies excites, that is Eunomians, Arians, Macedonians, Pneumatomachians, Manichaeans, Encratitans, Apotactitans, Saccoforians, Hydroparastatans, should not assemble in any gatherings, should not collect any multitude, should not draw any people to themselves and should not show walls of private houses after the likeness of churches, should practise either publicly or privately nothing which can be detrimental to Catholic sanctity.

And if there shall have been anyone who may transgress what so evidently has been prohibited, by all good persons' common agreement he should

[81] *CT* XVI.5.11, p. 859; trans. Coleman-Norton (1966) II, 387–88.

be expelled, because such opportunity has been allowed to all whom the veneration and the excellence of correct religious observance delight.

Given on 25 July at Constantinople, Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus being consuls.

42. The death penalty for Manichaeans

A law of Zeno, or of Anastasius I, on the right of residence of Manichaeans decreeing the death penalty (AD 487 or 510, Greek – originally Latin):[82]

We ordain that persons who prefer the Manichaeans' deadly error should have no freedom or leave to dwell in any place whatever of our state; but that, if ever they should have appeared or should have been found, they should be subject to capital punishment.

Given on 9 August, the most distinguished Boethius being consul.[83]

Law of Justin I and Justinian I also imposing the death penalty on Manichaeans (AD 527, Greek – originally Latin):[84]

Emperors Justin and Justinian Augusti.

. . . (*The first part is lost*) Therefore we have permitted heretics to assemble and to have their own domination, that they, having felt shame for our patience, willingly may come to their senses and may turn to the better. But a certain intolerable recklessness has entered into them and they have infiltrated themselves, having disregarded the laws' command, into governmental services, in which the very words of the royal formularies show that such persons should no longer participate.

We call heretics other persons, just as the accursed Manichaeans and those about like these; indeed it is unnecessary that they even should be named or should appear anywhere at all or should defile what they have touched. But the Manichaeans – as we have said – thus ought to be expelled and none ought either to tolerate or to overlook their denomination, if indeed a person diseased with this atheism should dwell in the same place with others, but also a Manichaean, wherever on earth appearing, ought to be subjected to punishments to the extreme degree . . .

[82] *CJ* 1.5.11, p. 53. The original Latin version is now lost but a Greek translation (partly lost) is found in the *Basilica* (1. line 25, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 5); trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 940.

[83] The date of the law would have been 510 if the consul was Anicius Manlius Boethius, the famous philosopher.

[84] *CJ* 1.5.12, pp. 53–4. Like the previous legislation, this is preserved in Greek translation in the *Basilica* (1. line 26, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 5); trans Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 995–6.

43. Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills

AD 527, Greek – originally Latin.[85]

. . . (*The first part is lost*) Since persons who have been unfortunate in respect to the Manichaeans' impious error are worthy not only of punishment while they live, but also of the circumstance that after their death they may not give their property to whom they wish or to whom the laws give it by intestacy, we use the present divine pragmatic law to your magnificence, by which we command that the property of persons possessed by this disease should be examined; and that if their children or any of their descending relatives should be free of such sort of madness, these should be allowed to share the property given to them by law, but that if any other cognates of the deceased persons either are called to their inheritance according to those persons' last will (which indeed has been forbidden) or have accepted a donation from such a person while living or even have been honoured with a legacy from, of course, the same person, their property or the things donated or bequeathed should be taken from them absolutely and should be attached to the public treasury.

[85] *CJ* 1.5.15. Like the previous legislation, this is also preserved in Greek translation in the *Basilica* (1. line 27, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 6); trans. Coleman-Norton (1966) III, 1005.

CHAPTER 4

The scriptures of Mani

One of the reasons why Manichaeism is sometimes termed the first 'religion', in the modern sense, is that it was deliberately constructed; and a vital element in the foundation for this were the revealed scriptures written down by Mani himself. Indeed, Mani repeats that this is one of the advantages of his church, that its apostle (i.e. himself) has written down the teachings, and thus it will endure and not be led astray (see e.g. **91**, below). In contrast, previous apostles had not written down their teachings, and it had been left to their disciples to put down what they remembered. This important theme enabled Mani to hold fast to the principle of a line of true apostles, in which he placed himself; while at the same time explaining the corruption of previous churches, and also the reason why his own would stand fast to the end. And this provided a suitable key for polemic against other religions, and for Manichaean exegesis of their scriptures as containing both truth and falsity.

Nevertheless, just as we should be cautious in our use of the term 'religion', and not impose anachronistic conceptions derived from the modern discipline of the history of religions; so, we also need to consider what exactly Mani and his followers meant by the concepts of scripture and canon. At the time Mani wrote, the list of Christian scriptures was not yet closed, and it is arguable that the idea of the canonical New Testament in anything like the modern sense did not occur until the fourth century AD. And, of course, the focus on the revealed book that is so characteristic of Islam lay some centuries into the future (although the mechanisms for this remain unclear, it seems more probable that the matrix of ideas concerning the cycle of apostles and books passed from Manichaeism on to Islam). Can we then say that Mani was the first to create the idea of a canon, just as many have maintained that Marcion created the idea of a New Testament?

This is probably to go too far. It is noticeable that, whilst Mani's emphasis on the importance of his books is remarkable, there was some difficulty in maintaining closure to their number, order, and perhaps even contents. In

the first two sections of this chapter a number of 'canon lists' are provided from different sources widely ranged over time and space. The continuity that Mani succeeded in achieving is most often commented on, but significant regional and temporal sub-traditions are also apparent. There is some fluctuation between five and seven 'scriptures' in the sources, and certain books had particular authority in one place but not another. Still, in the following very early source (probably by an immediate disciple and written in the first generation after the death of Mani himself), we find:

> The Gospel and The Treasury of the Life, The Treatise and The Book of the Mysteries, The Book of the Giants and The Epistles, The Psalms and the Prayers of my lord, his Picture(-Book) and his apo(caly)pses, his parables and his mysteries . . .[1]

Here there are the classic seven scriptures of the Manichaean canon (with *The Psalms and the Prayers* counted as one). These are clearly distinguished from Mani's *Picture(-Book)*, which was a depiction of his teachings by himself; and from other (written or oral?) sources ascribed to him. As well as these one must also mention the *Šābuhragān*, a summary of his teachings in Zoroastrian guise written in Middle Persian by Mani for his patron Shapur I. It was not generally included in the canon of Manichaean scriptures, which were otherwise all originally written in Aramaic, and is rarely noted in sources from the Roman Empire. In sum: When speaking of a 'canon', it is probably best not to mean much more than a core list of Mani's writings, around which gathered a number of other sources ascribed to him; but a really qualitative notion of canonicity (and fixity of the revealed letter and word) would be to impose too much, as the Manichaeans themselves do not seem to have made this distinction.

However, one of the major problems for the modern study of Manichaeism is the flimsy survival of Mani's scriptures themselves. Whilst we now have access to many hundreds, indeed thousands, of pages of text written by followers of the religion, and including large amounts of kephalaic material that purport to record Mani's words, the actual scriptures themselves (i.e. the seven works listed above, and of course the *Picture (-Book)* as well) are in very large part lost. As we will see in this chapter, there are some quotations surviving from various works, some substantial

[1] *Hom*. 25.1–6; ascribed to Koustaios, who may well have acted as Mani's scribe. In the same source we also find the following, which is remarkable for the place it gives to *The Kephalaia* (and as evidence for the early date of that text): 'I weep . . . for *The Prayers and the Psalms.* I weep for the illustrations of my *Picture (-Book*), as I (remember (?)) their beauty. I am weeping for *The Kephalaia* and . . .' (18.3–6). Kephalaiac literature was necessarily sub-canonical, since by its nature it was the recording of Mani's sermons, lessons, occasional parables and such like. Kephalaiac literature was therefore written by disciples, not by Mani himself; and thus had a problematic element in view of Mani's critique of such practices in prior churches.

fragments of *The Epistles*, and very important descriptions of the contents of the books by an-Nadīm; but we still can not say that we really know what an absolutely fundamental source such as *The Living Gospel* or *The Book of Mysteries* looked like. This is an enormous lack. In part it is doubtless a matter of luck; but it is noticeable that persecuting authorities would have focused especially on the destruction of the Manichaean scriptures, and in this work they appear to have been all too successful. We can only hope that future discoveries will redeem this situation.[2]

44. Mani's canon according to the Kephalaia

Early in the introduction to the Coptic *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, the section which provides a frame and a rationale for that work as (self-consciously) sub-canonical literature, Mani is quoted as listing his 'books of light'. Unfortunately the meaning of the 'three lessons' (Coptic lit. "words") that they are said to contain is not certain, although they may well be the 'three times' upon which Mani's teachings are built. Mani then urges his disciples also to preserve all his occasional discourses, and it is this that provides a justification for the text.

In this first canonical list it appears that *The (Book of the) Giants* is called 'the writing for the Parthians'[3] in the list of seven works (the traditional number, noting that *The Psalms and the Prayers* are usually counted as one), whilst there is no mention of the *Šābuhragān* unless it is the same as 'the writing for the Parthians' which is unlikely as the *Šābuhragān* – a summary of Mani's teaching for Shapur I – was composed in Middle Persian, the language of the Sassanian court. In the second kephalaia listing the *The (Book of the) Giants* is included but not 'the writing for the Parthians'. Neither piece counts *The Picture-Book*, although there are various references to that text elsewhere in the kephalaiac literature.

(*Keph.* 5.21–33; 6.15–27) . . . unveil in these three lessons . . . in them. I have written them in my books of light: in *The Great Gospel* and *Treasury of the Life*; in *The Treatise* (Gr: *Pragmateia*); in *The One of the Mysteries*; in **25** *The Writing,* which I wrote on account of the Parthians; and also all my *Epistles*; in *The Psalms and the Prayers*. For these three lessons are the measure of all wisdom. Everything that has occurred, and that will occur, is written in them! Have strength to discriminate . . . and know it through them. Every writer, **30** if he reveals these three great lessons: that one is the writer of truth. Also, every teacher, if he gives instruction and proclaims these three

[2] It should be noted that on-going editorial work by Funk and Gardner of codex remains from both Medinet Madi and Ismant el-Kharab is beginning to give a much clearer idea of *The Epistles*; and that similarly (by Funk and others) the editing of the *Synaxeis* codex from Medinet Madi should help us to understand more about *The Living Gospel*. It can also be noted that substantial portions of the *Šāburagān* survive, see MacKenzie (1979 and 1980).

[3] Cf. Tardieu (1981) 59.

lessons, is the teacher of truth. I also, for my part, behold I have revealed these three great lessons. I have given them to you . . .

Yet, now I will entrust to you . . . The world has not permitted me to write down . . . to me all of it; and if you, my children and my disciples, write all my wisdom . . . the questions that you have asked me . . . [20] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens; and the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women; . . . all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! They are not written. [25] You must remember them and write them; gather them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you.

Although the publication of the *editio princeps* of the codex only reached kephalaion 148 ('Concerning the five books: They are ascribed to five fathers') in 1999, the contents were already discussed (and a provisional text provided) in the first account of the Medinet Madi library by Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky in 1933 (35–41, 86). The passage is again important for the problematic question of the canon list. In this particular account there is evidence of textual corruption. As Funk (in his 1999 edition) points out: whilst the title counts five books, we find here six titles arranged as four gifts. It is most likely that at some point in the redaction history *The Psalms and the Prayers* have become omitted (cf. *Keph.* 5.23–26). Probably they were paired as a single gift, and placed prior to *The Epistles*.

(*Keph.* 355.4–25) Once again our enlightener speaks to his disciples: [5] These great writings, which I have written for you, are gifts; as they were freely given to you from the fathers of light.

So, *The Great Living Gospel* is the gift of the Ambassador. [10] *The Treasury of Life* is the gift of the Pillar of Glory. *The Treatise* and *The Book of Mysteries* and the writing on *The Giants*: These three holy writings are a single one, the gifts of the light Twin. [15] Also, all *The Epistles* that I have written for you from time to time: They are my gifts and my presents. This is the good fruit, which I have given you, from the good tree.

Now, you yourselves, my beloveds: Give thanks [20] and be confirmed in these good writings, these that were given freely for you from the fathers of light. Receive them in to your heart and believe them. Inscribe them upon your memory, because through them you will . . . eternal life.

45. Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source

Although the following accounts are not, of course, 'from the Roman Empire', they do illustrate the unity and longevity Mani's canon achieved for Manichaeism. Our

first source is that according to Ibn an-Nadīm (10th C. AD, Arabic),[4] which still remains in many respects the most detailed account available of the actual contents of Mani's books. In the absence of anything more than fragments still extant from these texts, it remains impossible to verify many of an-Nadīm's details; but what is interesting is that at his time of writing he clearly was able to access the works themselves, and as a source he has (when possible to verify) always proved to be remarkably accurate.

The Titles of Mānī's Books

Mānī wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e. Persian) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) 'An account of the Dayṣāniyya (i.e. the followers of Bardaiṣan of Edessa)', 'The testimony of Yastāsif on the Beloved', 'The testimony of . . . about himself given to Ya'qūb', 'The son of the widow' (who according to Mānī was the annointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), 'The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judea', 'The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamīn as given after his victory', 'The seven spirits', 'The discourse on the four transient spirits', 'Laughter', 'The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus', 'The fall from religion', 'The discourse of the Dayṣāniyya on the soul and the body', 'Refutation of the Dayṣānites on the soul of life', 'The three trenches', 'The preservation of the World', 'The three days', 'The prophets', (and) 'The resurrection'. This is what is contained in *The Book of Secrets*. (Then there are) *The Book of Giants*, containing . . . ; The Duties of the Hearers, (with) the chapter 'The duties of the Elect'; *The Book of aš-Šāburaqān*,[5] containing the chapters 'The dissolution of the Hearers', 'The dissolution of the Elect', and 'The dissolution of life'; *The Book of Revival*, containing . . . ; and *The Book of Pragmateia*, containing . . .

The remarkable survival of Mani's texts can be further illustrated from the titles of Mani's canonical works according to a Compendium of Manichaean doctrines in Chinese (compiled on 16 July, AD 731)[6]

Third article: On the style of the canon of scriptures and the drawing. All in all there are seven parts, together with a drawing: the first: the great *ying-lun* (from Gr. *evangelion*), interpreted 'book of wisdom which thoroughly

[4] *Fihrist*, ed. cit., p. 336; trans. M. Laffan (unpubl.).

[5] The *Šābuhragān* was a summary of Manichaean doctrines in Zoroastrian guise written in Middle Persian for Mani's patron Shapur I. For an excellent edition and translation of the nominatim fragments see Mackenzie (1979 and 1980). See also related texts collected in Hutter (1992). It was not generally included in the canon of Manichaean scriptures, which were otherwise all originally written in Aramaic.

[6] S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. lines 57–69; Eng. trans. Haloun and Henning (1952) 194–5.

understands the roots and origins of the entire doctrines' (i.e. *The Great Living Gospel*);
the second: *hisn-t'o-ho*, interpreted 'the sacred book of the treasure of pure life' (i.e. *The Treasure of Life*);
the third: *ni-wan*, interpreted 'the sacred book of discipline', also called 'the sacred book of healing' (i.e. *The Epistles*);[7]
the fourth: *a-lo-tsan*, interpreted 'the sacred book of secret law' (i.e. *The Mysteries*);
the fifth: *po-chia-ma-ti-yeh* (from Gr. *pragmateia*), interpreted 'book of instruction which testifies the past' (i.e. *The Pragmateia*);
the sixth: *chu-huan*, interpreted 'book of the strong heroes' (i.e. *The Book of the Giants*);
the seventh: *a-fu-yin*, interpreted 'book of praises and wishes (vows)' (i.e. *The Psalms and Prayers*);
one drawing; *ta-men-ho-i*, interpreted 'the drawing of the two great principles' (i.e. *The Picture-book* or *Eikon*).
The seven great scriptures and the (one) drawing mentioned above, Mani, the Buddha of light, at the very time when he was about to descend into the world and, all sanctities approving, responded by birth to the causes attained, on the day of the establishment of the law (he himself) transmitted (them) to the five grades (of believers). As to the authorised teaching (*dharma*) stated during the remainder of (his) sixty years, the disciples noted them down according to opportunity. Those (we) do not enumerate.

46. From The Living Gospel

The opening section as preserved in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[8]

He wrote (again and) **66** said in the gospel of his most holy hope:
'I, Mannichaeus (*sic*),[9] apostle of Jesus Christ,[10] through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I also came into being.[11] He lives and abides for all eternity. Before everything he is, and he remains after everything.

[7] *ni-wan* is a transliteration of Middle Persian *dyb'n* ('archive'). Cf. Henning in Haloun and Henning (1952), 207.
[8] *CMC* 65.23–68.5, ed. cit., 44–5; Eng. trans. J. M. and S. Lieu. This and the other citations from the Gospel were cited in the *CMC* in support of the apostleship of Mani.
[9] This form of the name with the doubling of the -n- is also found in Coptic (*Hom.* 7.5). According to Augustine (*de Haeresibus* XLVI.1), this was a deliberate ploy by the Manichaeans to counter the easily made association between 'Mani' and 'mania' by polemicists, and to make the name sound like the 'pourer of Manna'.
[10] The phrase 'Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ' is also found on a seal in Syriac and written in the characteristic Manichaean script. Cf. de Menasce and Guillou (1946).
[11] This is closely paralleled in the Middle Persian version; see the next text.

Everything which has happened and will happen, is established through his power. From him I have my being, and I exist also according to his will. And from him all that is true was revealed to me and from (his) truth I exist. I have seen (the truth of eternity which he revealed.) And **67** I declared the truth to my companions; I preached peace to the children of peace;I proclaimed hope to the undying generation; I chose the elect and showed the path leading to the height to those who will go up according to this truth. I have proclaimed hope and revealed this revelation; and have written this immortal gospel, in which I have put down these pre-eminent secret rites and declared great deeds, indeed the greatest and holiest of supreme deeds of power. (And) these things which (he revealed) I have made known (to those who live in accordance with) **68** the vision of supreme truth which I have seen, and the most glorious revelation which was revealed to me.'

Quotations from the first book of the Gospel as preserved in Middle Iranian fragments from Central Asia:

(a) *Middle Persian version*[12]
{*Header*} He teaches the Gospel Aleph.[13]
(She was praised and be praised), **R** the Maiden of Light, head of all wisdoms. It was praised and is praised, the holy church, by the power of the Father, by the praise of the Mother, and (by the wisdom of the Son), and on the speakers and hearers of the true word. (*8 lines left blank*) Let there be praise and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost and (to the holy book.)
(. . . *ca. 15 lines lost*. . . . **V** which instructs eye and) ear, and teaches the fruit of truth. (*8 lines left blank*)

I Mani, apostle of Jesus the friend, by the will of the Father, the true God, he from whom I came to be, . . . is after all (things), and everything which has been and will be stands by his power. The fortunate receive this (good) news, the wise recognise (it), the strong don (it, sc. as their armour), the learned (consider (?)) (it to be) better . . .

(b) *Middle Persian and Sogdian diglottal version*[14]
. . . **R** (Pe.) and the understanding of the wise. (Sogd.) *He has been praised and will be praised, the dearest-of-the-dear son, the life-giving (saviour) Jesus, head of all giving, support of the pure and perception of the wise*. (Pe.) She was praised and be praised the Maiden of Light, head of all wisdoms. (Sogd.)

[12] M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1994), 184 and 186–90.
[13] Middle Persian *'rb*. The Gospel of Mani, according to Arabic sources, comprised of 22 chapters, each after an alphabet of the semitic alphabet.
[14] M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90.

She has been praised and will be praised, the wonder-working Kanīgrōšān,[15] *who is the head of all wisdom.* (Pe.) It was praised and is praised, the holy church, by the power of the Father, by the praise of the Mother, and by the wisdom of the Son. (Sogd.) *It has been praised and will be praised, the holy church, righteousness, by the power of the Father, god Zurwān, by the praise of the Mother (of Life), god Rāmrātux,*[16] *and* (**V**) *by the wisdom of the Son Jesus.* (Pe.) Welfare and blessing upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and hearers of the true word. (Sogd.) *Welfare and blessing upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and hearers of the trustworthy holy word.* (Pe.)

Let there be praise and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost and to the holy book. (Sogd.) *Likewise let there be praise and reverence to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, and to the living scripture.* (Pe.) The saying of the living Gospel, which instructs eye and ear, and teaches the fruit of truth.

A further quotation from the Gospel in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex:*[17]

Yet again he said:
'All the secrets which my father gave me, I have hidden and sheltered from the sects and gentiles and indeed the world, but to you I have revealed them in accordance with the will of my most blessed father. And if he should wish me to once more, I will again reveal them to you. For the gift which was given to me by my father is very great and (rich). For if (the whole) world and all **69** men obeyed (him), I would be able, with this possession and advantage which my father has given me, to enrich them and render the wisdom sufficient for the whole world.'

Another quotation, probably also from the Gospel, in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex:*[18]

Again he said:
'When my father showed favour and treated me with pity and solicitude, he sent from there my never-failing Syzygos, the complete fruit of immortality, who might ransom and redeem me from the error of those of that rule. He came to (me and) brought to me (the) noblest hope, the (redemption) **70** of immortality, true instructions and the laying on of hands from my father.

[15] i.e. the Maiden of Light.
[16] A tentative translation of the Sogdian version of the name of the Mother of Life given by MacKenzie ((1995), 187) is 'liberal (?) with joy (?)'.
[17] *CMC* 68.5–69.8, ed. cit. 46–8; trans. J. M. and S. Lieu.
[18] *CMC* 69.9–70.9, 48; trans. J. M. and S. Lieu.

He came and chose me in preference to others and set me aside, drawing me away from the midst of those of that rule in which I was brought up.'

47. From The Treasure of Life

There are two quotations from the *Thesaurus*, the latter on the 'seduction of the rulers', cited by Augustine (Latin).[19]

(*Frg. 1, from the second book*) Those however who by their own negligence have not allowed themselves to be cleansed from the stain of the spirits mentioned earlier and have failed to obey the divine commandments at all, and have refused to observe any further the law given them by their liberator, and have not governed themselves as was fitting . . .

(*Frg. 2, from the seventh book*) Then the blessed father, who has shining ships as lodgings and dwelling places according to their size, in accordance with the clemency that is attached to him, brings aid to set his vital substance free from the impious bonds and straits and torments in which it is held. By his invisible nod he transforms his powers which he has in his shining ship, and causes them to show themselves to the hostile powers which are set in the different parts of the heavens. These are of both sexes, male and female. Hence he makes the aforesaid powers appear partly in the shape of beardless boys to women of the hostile race, partly in the shape of fair virgins to males of the hostile race. He knows that all these hostile powers are easily taken in because of the deadly unclean lust that is congenital to them, and will yield to the beautiful forms they see, and will so be dissolved. Know that our blessed father is identical with these powers of his, which for a necessary purpose he transforms into the undefiled likeness of boys and virgins. He uses these as his proper instruments, and by them accomplishes his will. The shining ships are full of these divine powers which are set over against members of the infernal race as in a kind of marriage. Quickly and easily, in a moment, they achieve their purpose. When reason demands that they should appear to males they show themselves in an instant in the form of beautiful virgins. Again, when they have to come to women they put off the appearance of virgins and take on that of beardless boys. At this comely sight, their ardour and concupiscence grow, and in this way the prison of those evil thoughts is broken, and the living soul which was

[19] (I) Aug., *Contra Felicem*, 2, 5, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 832.22–7; Eng. trans. M. Vermes; (II) Aug., *De natura Boni* 44, ed. cit. 881,24–884,2; Eng. trans. Burleigh (1953) 344–5 (slightly altered). On the cosmogonic episode of the 'seduction of the rulers' see introduction to Mani's 'Teachings' at p. 16.

held bound in their members of those same (beings) is by this opportunity released and escapes and mingles with the purest air which is its native element. Souls that are completely purified board the shining ships which have been prepared for their conveyance and passage across the narrow sea (that separates them from) their homeland. Anyone who still shows the taint of the adverse race goes down step by step through fiery heat, gets mixed up with trees and the other cuttings (used for propagation) and all the seedlings and is stained with diverse colours. Out of that great shining ship the figures of boys and virgins appear to the hostile powers whose home is in the heavens and whose nature is fiery. At the fair sight the part of life which is held bound in their members is released and brought down by heat to earth. In the same way the highest power, that inhabits the ship of living waters, appears by means of his messengers in the shape of boys and holy virgins to the powers whose nature is cold and moist, which also are set in the heavens. To those which are female it appears in the form of boys, and to males in the form of virgins. By this diversity of divine and beautiful forms the princes of cold and moist stock, whether male or female, are brought to naught and the vital element in them escapes. What remains is brought down to earth by cold and is mingled with all the species of earth.

48. From an unnamed work of Mani, probably The Pragmateia

The once commonly accepted hypothesis of Cumont and Kugener[20] and followed by Adam[21] that the citations given below are from the lost canonical work, the *Book of the Giants*, must now be called into doubt. The *Book of the Giants*, as shown from extant Turfan fragments, shows the distinctive influence of the Book(s) of Enoch and this has been confirmed by Milik's identification of a prototype of the Manichaean work among the Enochic fragments from Qumran (1st C BC - 1st AD).[22] The citations are given by the Patriarch Severus of Antioch (*sedit* 512-38, Syriac, orginally Greek).[23]

[20] Cumont and Kugener (1912) II, 160–1. [21] Adam (1969) §5, pp. 11–14.

[22] Cf. Reeves (1992) 172–4. The lost work behind the citations gives one of the most abstract and most demythologised versions of Manichaean cosmogony, and it is not inconceivable that it was a Christianised version of a Manichaean work utilised by heresiologists for the refutation of the teachings of the community.

[23] The citations are found in *Homiliae Cathedrales* CXXIII of Severus of Antioch. Originally composed and delivered in Greek, the homilies have come down to us in two Syriac rescensions. The earlier that of Paul of Callinicum (ed. Rahmani (1909) pp. mh–pṭ) and the later and arguably the better of Jacob of Edessa (ed. Brière (1961) 124 (628) – 188 (692)). The following citations, translated by S. Lieu and revised by S. Brock are based on the resecension of Jacob of Edessa as edited by Brière. See also the fully annotated translation of Reeves (1992) 167–70.

From where did the Manichaeans, who are more wicked than any other, get the idea of introducing two principles, both uncreated and without beginning, that is good and evil, light and darkness, which they also call matter?[24] . . .

But he (Mani) says: 'Each one of them is uncreated and without beginning, both the good, which is light, and the evil, which is darkness and matter. And there is no contact between them.'[25] . . .

The good, which they have called light and the tree of life, occupies the regions in the east, west and north; but the tree of death which they also called matter, being very wicked and uncreated, occupies the regions towards the south and the meridian.[26] . . .

The difference and gulf between the two principles are as great as that between a king and a pig. The one moves in a royal palace in chambers fitting for him; the other wallows like a pig in filth, feeds on its foul stench and takes pleasure in it, or (is) like a snake, coiled inside its den.[27] . . .

The (beings) which have existed for ever and at all time from the beginning – he is speaking about matter and about God – each one of them exists in its own nature. Thus is the tree of life, which is decorated there with all its beauties and with all its shining splendours, which is filled and clothed with all its excellence, which stands fast and is fixed in its nature: its territory includes three regions, that of the north which is external and below, (that) of the east and (that) of the west which is external and below. There is not anything which is penetrated or occluded by it from below, not even in one region, but it (stretches) infinitely outside and below. No foreign body is around it (the tree of life) or below it, nor at another place of the three regions, but below and outside belong to it, to the north, to the east and to the west. There is nothing which surrounds and encloses it on these three sides; but it is in itself, of itself and to itself, arrayed in itself with its fruits. And the kingdom consists of it.[28] . . .

And it (i.e. the good) is not seen in the southern region, and that is because it is hidden in that which is within its bosom (the region of light); for God has built a wall around that place.[29]

Its light and its grace are invisible, so that it does not give the evil tree, which is in the south, an occasion for desire; and so that it should not be the cause for it to be provoked and harassed and to get into danger, but it

[24] *Hom.* 123, ed. Brière (1961) 148.23–25. [25] Ibid. 150.8–10. [26] Ibid. 152.14–16.
[27] Ibid., 152.20–23. [28] Ibid., 154.7–18. [29] Ibid., 154.22–4.

is enclosed in splendour and gives no occasion because of its goodness. Yet it has preserved itself by its righteousness and is in this splendour, existing continually in the nature of its greatness in these three regions. The tree of death, however, according to its nature has no life or any fruits of goodness on its branches. It is always in the southern region. It has its own place, which is above (?) it.[30] . . .

The tree of death is divided into many (trees). War and embitterment exist in them. They are strangers to peace and are full of all wickedness and never have good fruits. It (the tree of death) is divided against its fruits and its fruits too stand against the tree. They are not at one with the one who produced them, but they all produce the worm for the destruction of their place. They are not subject to the one who produced them, but the whole tree is bad. It never does any good but is divided in itself and each individual part destroys what is nearby.[31] . . .

For they also wrote these strong words. (Let this be said) about matter and about its fruits and members: Because of the unrest – therein was the reason – it happened, that they ascended even to the worlds of light. For these members of that tree of death did not even know each other, and were not even aware of each other. For none of them knew more than its own voice and saw only that which was before their own eyes. And when it (the voice) called out something, then they heard it and were aware of it and set off to the voice with violence. They did not know anything else. And so they were stimulated and spurred on by each other to press forward even as far as the frontiers of the splendid land of light; but when they realised that its wonderful and exceedingly beautiful appearance was far better than their own, then they assembled – i.e. that dark matter – and took counsel against light to mix themselves with it. On account of their madness they did not know that a strong and powerful God dwelt therein; but they strove to ascend to the heights, because they had never recognised anything of the excellence of the Godhead, nor had they realised who God was. And they looked there, full of foolishness, urged on by the desire for the appearance of those blessed worlds and believed that it would belong to them. There arose therefore all the members of that tree of darkness, that is matter which creates ruin, and ascended with many, countless armies. Yet they were all clad in the matter of fire.[32]

The members however (of matter) were varied. Some had a firm body and were of infinite size, the others incorporeal and untouchable, having a keen perception like the demons and apparitions of phantoms. When, now, the

[30] Ibid., 154.26–156.8. [31] Ibid., 162. 6–13. [32] Ibid., 164.10–27.

whole of matter had arisen, it ascended with its winds and storms, with water and fire, with its demons and apparitions, the rulers and powers; and this was while they were all in the depths, so that they could associate themselves with the light. On account of this disturbance, which was prepared out of the depths against the land of light and against the holy fruits, it was necessary that a part should come out of the light and be mingled with the evil ones, so that the enemies would be captured by this mingling, and the good would have peace and the nature of the good would be preserved, after that blessed nature had been delivered out of the fire of matter; and out of that ruinous decay, and thereby again the luminous ones would be divested of matter by the power which has been intermingled, so that the matter will be destroyed from the midst and the tree of life be God in all and over all. For in that world of light there is no burning fire, to be set against evil, nor cutting iron, nor water which drowns, nor any other evil which is like it. For everything is light and free space. And no harm comes to it; but rather this exodus or crossing-over takes place in order that, by virtue of the part which came from the light, the enemies, being scattered, might cease their attack and are captured by the mingling.[33]

(You (i.e. Mani) say): 'that this portion (of light) was given to matter in the guise of tempting bait and a deception, so that after this "the mixture"' – as you say – 'would be purified', or rather 'the light would be found pure', as if you are supposing that you are devising a discourse about dregs mixed in wine, and not about God! 'And after the purification' – I am also saying this according to you – 'matter will be completely reduced to destruction'! For with these very words we have set you forth above as saying: 'so that matter would be obliterated from the midst'.[34]

49. From The Psalms and Prayers *(?)*

Here are lines from the Song of the Lovers (*Amatorium canticum*) as recalled by Augustine (Latin).[35] In general, the content of this canonical scripture is not well understood, nor its relationship to extant Manichaean psalmic literature. Some clue

[33] Ibid., 164.28–166.15 (the same quotaton continued). [34] Ibid., 174.3–8.

[35] Aug., *c. Faust.* xv.5–6, p. 425.4–6, 426.8–12 and 428.5–16; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Brückner (1901), 77–8. There is little doubt that the song is genuinely Manichaean as it renders extremely accurate information on the five sons of the Living Spirit. On this see Jackson (1932), 300–1. There are also strong echoes of this song or hymn in Coptic Manichaean psalms (e.g. *PsBk2.* 136.13a–17a.29–38 and 43–9 and 2.6–20). Adam ((1969), 2) suggests that the 'Canticum' could have been a fragment of Mani's *Gospel.*

may be provided by the canon lists embedded in the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book*. Here we find:

There are two and twenty compounds in his antidote:
His *Great Gospel*, the good tidings of all them that are of the light.
His water-pot is *The Treasury*, the treasure of life:
In it there is hot water, there is some cold water also mixed with it.
His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is *The Treatise*.
His knife for cutting is *The Book of the Mysteries*.
His excellent swabs are *The Book of the Giants*.
The splints for every cure is the book of his *Epistles*.
. . . that is hot, the two *Psalms*, the weeping . . .
there is a cure also that is cool, his *Prayers* and all his lessons.[36]

It is the reference to two psalms in particular that is most telling, but whether either of these is really one of those here recorded by Augustine can not be known.

Do you recall your 'Song of the Lovers' in which you describe the supreme reigning monarch, forever sceptre-bearing, crowned with flowers and possessing a fiery countenance? . . . As you follow the song, you add (to the list of gods) twelve aeons (*duodecim saecula*) clothed in flowers and full of song, throwing their flowers at the Father's face. Whereupon you profess that he was surrounded by these twelve great so-called gods, three of them in each part of the four regions . . . Carry on then with what you are singing and watch out, if you can, for the shame of your idolatry. The doctrine of the deceiving demons has invited you to the imaginary dwellings of the angels where the wholesome breeze blows and to fields which abound in sweet scent and hills and trees and seas and rivers which flow forever with sweet nectar . . . Have you ever come face to face with the reigning, sceptre-bearing monarch bedecked with floral crowns and the armies of gods; and the great Keeper of Splendour (*splenditenens*), with six faces and expressions and is radiant with light; and another, the King of Honour (*rex honoris*),

[36] *PsBk2.* 46.20 – 47.4 (ed. and trans. Allberry, and adapted by I. Gardner with reference to the reedition by G. Wurst (1996)). The reference to the number 22 in the first line indicates the *Gospel* which we know was constructed after the letters of the alphabet. A similar canon tradition is also found from 139.20 – 140.16, which unfortunately is rather fragmentarily preserved (though Allberry's edition is improved by Martin Krause (1994)). However, this lists 'five holy books' amongst which we can read (or reliably restore): numbered 1, the *Great Gospel* and numbered 2, *The Treasury of Life*; then follows, *The Book* (*of the Mysteries*), *The Book of the Treatise, The Book of the* (*Giants*), *The Book of the Epistles, The Prayers* of our lord, the two *Psalms*. After the first two, it is unclear how these should be grouped to render 'five'; but see the discussion in Krause (1994).

surrounded by cohorts of angels; and another, the heroic and belligerent Adamas, who carries a spear in his right hand and a shield in the left; and another, the King of Glory (*gloriosus rex*), who propels three wheels, those of fire, water and wind; and Atlas, chief of all carrying the world on his shoulders, down on one knee and supporting it with both arms? Have you seen all these and a thousand other portents face to face, or has the doctrine of the deceiving demons been sung to you through the lips of the deceived although you are not aware of it?

50. The titles of Mani's Epistles

The titles of *The Epistles* of Mani, and also of his immediate successors,[37] are given according to Ibn an-Nadīm (Arabic, 10th C. AD).[38]

The Two Sources * The Eminent Ones * The Great Epistle of India * On Seemly Goodness * The Consummation of Justice * The Epistle of Kaskar * The Great Epistle of Fatiq[39] * The Armenian Epistle * Amūlyā the Unbeliever * Ctesiphon as it appears in The Document * The Ten Words * The Teacher on Social Intercourse * Waḥman on the Seal of the Mouth * Ḫabarhāt on Consolation * Ḫabarhāt on – * The Epistle of Umhasam of Ctesiphon * Yaḥyā on Perfume * Ḫabarhāt on – * Ctesiphon to the Hearers * The Epistle of Fāfī * The Minor Epistle on Guidance * The Dualist Epistle of Sīs * The Great Epistle of Bābil * Sīs and Fatiq on Forms * The Garden * Sīs on Time * Saʿyūs on the Tithe * Sīs on Pledges. * On Organization * The epistle of Abā the Student * – to ar-Ruhā[40]* Abā on Love * Maysān[41] on The Day * Abā on – * Baḥrānā on Terror * Abā on the Recollection of Goodness * The Servant of Jesus on The Tribes * Baḥrānā on Social Intercourse * The Epistle of Šāyil and Saknā * Abā on Alms * (**337**) Ḥadāyā on The Pigeon * Afqūriyā on Time * Zakū on Time * Suhrāb on The Tithe * The Epistle of Karḥ and ʿUrāb * Suhrāb on the Persians * The Epistle of Abrāḥyā * The Epistle of Abū Yasām the Architect * The Epistle of Abrāḥyā the Unbeliever * The Font * Yaḥyā on Money * Afʿand on the Four Tithes.

[37] The status of these different groups of letters is unknown. As a canonical work, it would seem unlikely that *The Epistles* were an open-ended text (contrast the *Kephalaia* as little more than a genre of sub-canonical discourses); but it is possible to suppose that al-Nadim is following some model such as the Shi'ite preservation of *hadith* from the Imams after Muhammad.

[38] *Fihrist*, ed. cit., pp. 336–7, trans. M. Laffan (unpubl.).

[39] This could be the work known as the 'Epistula Fundamenti' in Roman North Africa. See below.

[40] Ar-Ruhā is the semitic name for Edessa. See below (§51) for a citation (in Greek) of this letter, as preserved in the *CMC*.

[41] A similarly titled epistle is preserved in the Middle Persian fragment M733, *HR* ii, pp. 30–32, *Rd.* §do, pp. 184–85 and trans. *GSR*, p. 258.

Then there are: Af'and on the First Felicity * on the Recollection of the Cushions * Yuḥannā on the Administration of Alms * The Hearers on Fasting and Vocation * The Hearers on the Great Fire * al-Ahwāz on the Recollection of The Angel * The Hearers on the Utterance of Yazdānbaḫt * The First Persian Epistle of Maynaq * The Second Epistle of Maynaq * The Tithe and Alms * The Epistle of Ardašīr and Maynaq * The Epistle of Salam and 'Anṣūrā * The Epistle of Ḥaṭṭā * Ḫabarhāt on The Angel * Abraḥyā on the Healthy and the Sick * Araddud on the Beasts * Aǧā on the Shoes * The Two Luminous Burdens * Mānā on Crucifixion * The Epistle of Mahr the Hearer * The Epistle of Fayrūz and Rāsīn * 'Abdbāl on (Mānī's) Book of Mysteries * The Epistle of Simeon and Ramīn * 'Abdbāl on the Garment.

51. A quotation from 'the Letter to Edessa'

This is cited in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex.*[42]

64 (We acknowledge) that he did not receive truth from men nor from the report of books, as our father himself says in the writings he sent to Edessa.[43] He says as follows:

'The truth and the secrets of which I speak, as well as the laying on of hands which is mine, I did not receive from men or beings of flesh, nor from the intercourse with writings; but when my most blessed (father) who called me to his grace and did not (wish) me and the others in the world to perish, saw and pitied me, with the purpose of (offering) well-being to those **65** who were ready to be chosen by him from the religions, then by his grace he took me away from the council of the multitude which did not know the truth. And he disclosed to me his secrets and those of his undefiled father and of the whole world. He revealed to me how they existed before the creation of the world, and how the foundation for all works, good and evil, was laid, and how they manufactured from the mixture in those (times).'

52. Passages from The Epistles *preserved at Ismant el-Kharab*

Among the Manichaean texts recovered by the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab there were a hundred or so papyrus fragments in Coptic from a codex that

[42] *CMC* 64.1–65.22, ed. cit. 42–4; Eng. trans. J. M. and S. Lieu. The citation immediately precedes those from the *Gospel* (*supra*, **46**).

[43] The title of the letter is given by al-Nadim (see above). Edessa, the capital city of the Roman province of Osrhoene, had long been a centre of early Christianity; especially popular there were the teachings of the 'gnostics' Marcion and Bardaisan.

evidently contained some (probably not all) of Mani's canonical *Epistles*. The work of reconstruction has not yet been completed, but in advance of the first critical edition (by I. Gardner and W.-P. Funk) we here provide three short passages (trans. Gardner).

In the first passage we certainly have the start of one of these *Epistles.* As is well known, Mani models his style on that of Paul. Here it is of interest that the text uses the spelling Chrestos, i.e. 'Jesus the 'good'; amongst ancient authors, Alexander of Lycopolis noted that the Manichaeans adopted this form (*c. Manich.* 34.18-21).

Manichaios, apostle of Jesus Chrestos, and all the brothers who are with me; to N.N., my loved one, and all the brothers who are with you, each one according to his name. Peace through God the Father, and our lord Jesus Chrestos, be it upon you my loved one; and may it guard you and . . . you in your body and your spirit. The Father, the God of truth . . .

In this second passage we are probably at the very end of an *Epistle.* The autobiographical asides are especially interesting; and the reference to 'ten sayings' means that this is probably the letter concerning 'the ten words', which is named by the Muslim author an-Nadīm in the tenth century, in his list of the titles of these scriptural texts (**50**).

Indeed, my loved one, I was obliged to write a mass of words to you this time; but God himself knows that these young people, whom you sent and who came, found me in how much pain. For I was sick in my body (?) and in want to come forth from it, I had no relief at all in it. For all of thirty years to the day I was never sick like this occasion; and these young people who had come, I wished merely to proclaim the news to them, and by my mouth send to you without letter. However, your heart was grieved by the words of the brothers who are ill; because of this I myself was oppressed with a great pain, and I have written to you these ten sayings that I might comfort your heart my child. I myself suffered, and that I might give relief to my child: Know therefore that these words I heard in suffering, you too receive them in joy and confirmation; and you understand them.

Finally, we provide this passage: Mani quotes a saying of Jesus (John 13:18, which is itself an allusion to Psalm 41:9) which the fourth evangelist had used with regard to Jesus's foreknowledge of his betrayal by Judas, and applies it to himself. The modelling of Mani's life-experience on that of 'our lord', and particularly with regard to the elements of the passion narrative, is a characteristic feature of Manichaean texts. This passage here evidences that this goes back to Mani himself. The peculiar form of the logion is also of interest as regards the (unresolved) question of Mani's own knowledge of the gospel textual tradition.

The saying that our lord proclaimed by his mouth has been fulfilled in me: 'The one who eats salt with me has raised his foot against me.' I (Mani) myself too, this has happened to me: One who eats salt with me at the evening table, with my clothes upon his body, he has raised his foot against me; just as an enemy would do to his enemy. All these things have I suffered from my children and my disciples, they whom I have saved from the bondage of the world and the bondage of the body; whilst I bear them from the death of the world. I, all these things, I have endured and suffered in their season from a multitude.

53. 'The Fundamental Epistle'

Citations from the *Epistula Fundamenti* found in the works of Augustine (Latin):[44]

(Frg. 1): Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ, through the providence of God the Father.[45]

(Frg. 2): These are the words of salvation from the eternal and living source. Whoever hears them and first believes, then keeps their teachings, will never be subjected to death but will enjoy an eternal and glorious life. For he who has been instructed in this divine knowledge is truly to be considered blessed and who, thereby freed, shall dwell in everlasting life.[46]

(Frg. 3): May the peace of the invisible God and knowledge of the truth be with the holy and beloved brothers who believe the heavenly commandments and also observe them at the same time! May the right hand of the light protect you and deliver you from every assault of evil and the snare of the world! May the piety of the Holy Spirit open up the depths of your heart so that you may see your souls with your own eyes![47]

(Frg. 4a): You have indicated to me, my dearest brother Patticius,[48] saying that you wish to know in what manner Adam and Eve came into being,

[44] The 'Epistula quam Manichaei vocant Fundamenti' was according to Augustine the most widely read work of Mani among the Manichaeans of North Africa. It formed the basis of his debate with the Manichaean *doctor* Felix in 404 (cf. Aug., *Contra Felicem*, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 801–52) and that of a major refutation of its contents (cf. Aug., *Contra Epistulam Manichaei quam vocant 'fundamenti'*, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/1, 193–248). The latter is the source of the majority of the quotations given below. There is an edition of the reconstructed text, with a detailed but dated commentary, by E. Feldmann (1987). The numbering of the fragments given below follows that of Feldmann. Eng. trans. by J. F. Hendry in Haardt (1971), 295–301; revised by S. Lieu, S. Llewelyn and M. J. Vermes.

[45] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, 197.10–11 and *c. Fel.* 1.1, 801.16–17.

[46] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 11, 206.18–24 and *c. Fel.* 1.1, 801.17–24.

[47] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 11, 207.11–13 and 18–20 and *c. Fel.* 1.16, 819.9–15.

[48] This is very likely to be the same person as the Teacher Patīg whom Mani sent to evangelise the regions of the Roman Empire which bordered on those of the Sassanians (see **21**)). Among the titles of Epistles of Mani given by Al-Nadim we find a 'long epistle of Futtuq' which may be the same letter as the *Epistula fundamenti*. The length of the extant citations which could have represented only

whether they were brought forth through the word or were begotten from a body. To this you shall receive an appropriate reply.[49] This subject has been treated by many writers in various texts and revelations, and dealt with in varying ways. The truth of this matter as it stands is therefore not known by almost all peoples, and (especially) by all who have discussed the subject at length and in detail. If they had attained to a clear knowledge of the origin of Adam and Eve, they would never become subject to corruption and death.[50]

(Frg. 4b): In order to be able to penetrate this mystery however, beyond any ambiguity, one must of necessity set forth other facts in advance.[51]

(Frg. 4c): In the first place, therefore, if you will, hearken to what was before the world came into being, and how the struggle was started, so that you may be able to distinguish the nature of the light and the darkness.[52]

(Frg. 5a): In the primeval beginning there were the two substances separated from one another. God the Father ruled over the light, eternal in his holy origin, magnificent in his power, by nature true, forever rejoicing over his own eternity. In him were contained wisdom and the vital senses by which he also embraces the twelve members of his light,[53] namely the abounding riches of his own dominion. In each of his members, however, thousands of countless and immeasurable treasures are concealed. The Father himself, exalted in his glory and incomprehensible in his greatness, possesses in union with himself blessed and illustrious aeons, whose number and extent cannot be estimated. The sacred and noble Father and generator lives with them, in his splendid kingdom there is no beggar or cripple.[54]

(Frg. 5b): Thus his shining kingdoms are founded above the bright and blessed earth, in such a way that they cannot ever be moved or shaken by anyone.[55]

(Frg. 6a): Near one section and the side of that glorious and holy land,[56] (Frg. 6b): was situated the land of darkness, deep and of immeasurable extent; in it resided fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of

part of the work (which Augustine prefers to call a *liber* rather than an *epistula*) certainly suggests its being a long work, and much longer than an average letter of Mani.

[49] This question from an enlightened disciple and answer from the master in the form of an intended dicourse is standard in Manichaean didactic literature and is frequently used in the *Kephalaia* and by Manichaeans in Central Asia where it could easily be adopted to resemble a Buddhist sutra.

[50] Idem, *c. Epist. Fund.* 12, 207.25–208.11. [51] Ibid., 208.13–16. [52] Ibid., 208.23–26.

[53] I.e. the Twelve Aeons. These are also known as the Twelve Maidens or the Twelve Hours.

[54] Ibid. 13, 209.11–26.

[55] Ibid., 209.26–8; idem, *c. Fel.* 1.17, 820.10–12; idem, *de natura boni* 42, 877.18–20 and Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 11, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 955.1–3.

[56] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 15, 212.9–10 and idem, *c. Fel.* 1.19, 824.16–17. For an important study of the description of the land of darkness as depicted in the 'Epistula Fundamenti' see Puech (1951).

the same principle, came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them. And these were the five natures of the corruption-bearing land.[57]
(Frg. 6c): But those five species inhabiting those natures were savage and destructive.[58]

(Frg. 7): The Father of the blessed light, however, knew that a great contamination and destruction was rising from the darkness and menacing his sacred aeons, unless he opposed to it an outstanding, brilliant and powerful deity, through which he would at once overcome the descendants of the darkness and destroy them, and thus, following their destruction, ensure for the inhabitants of the light eternal rest.[59]

(Frg. 8a): . . . the Father who generated there the sons of light; both the air and the land itself and the sons themselves are one substance, and all things are equal . . . [60]

(Frg. 8b): For that is this *Epistula Fundamenti*, which your holiness knows well, which I too have quoted, because it contains the beginning, the middle and the end.[61]

(Frg. 9): Then he (i.e. the ruler of darkness) spoke in his wanton deceit to those who were with him: 'What do you make of that powerful light rising up (over there)? See, how it sets the heavens in motion and convulses most of the powers. It is better therefore that you give over to me whatever light you have in your power. With it I shall make an image of that great one that has appeared in glory. Through that image we shall be able to rule and we shall at last be freed of this sojourn in the darkness.'

When they had heard this and debated at length, they thought it best to render up what they were asked. For they were not confident that they would be able to keep back this light permanently. They therefore considered it better to offer it to their ruler with whom they did not despair of reigning, thanks to this expediency. We must now consider the manner in which they transferred the light which they possessed. This also is scattered in all divine

[57] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 15, 212.10–22. [58] Ibid. 30, 230.11–12.
[59] Aug., *c. Fel.* 1.19, 824, 23–9; idem, *de natura boni* 42, 877.21–26, idem., *c. Sec.* 20, 935.23–6, Evod., *de fide* 11, 955.3–9.
[60] Aug., *c. Fel.* 1.19, 825.24–6. [61] Ibid. 2.1, 828.23–6.

writings and heavenly mysteries. For the wise, of course, a knowledge of the method of transfer is by no means difficult; for this becomes apparent and clearly recognised by him who truly and sincerely desires to know.

As the congregation of those who had assembled differed in sex, namely male and female, he commanded them to mate, whereby some in the act of coition ejected seed and the others became pregnant. The offspring were like their generators, and, as the first-born, received the major part of their parents's powers. Their ruler took them and rejoiced over them as over an extraordinary gift. And just as we even today can observe that the principle of evil forms bodies, draining power from the latest ones before creating new ones, so the ruler we have mentioned receiving the offspring of his companions, who possessed the sensual powers of their parents, their intelligence and also the light which had been procreated with them at the time of their generation, consumed them. He drew a great deal of strength out of that sort of food, in which there was not only strength but even more, cunning and the corrupted senses which derived from the savage mentality of their generators. He called to him his own female companion, who originated from the same source as himself. When he had united with her, he sowed in her, like the others had done, the surplus of evils which he had consumed, and added to these something of his thinking and his power, so that his own mind should shape and form all that he had brought forth. His female companion received it all, just as the best tilled soil customarily receives the seed. For in her the images of all heavenly and earthly powers were shaped and interwoven, so that what took shape there, possessed a similarity to the entire universe.[62]

(Frg. 10): The enemy, who hoped to have crucified that same saviour, the father of the righteous, was himself crucified: for at that time, appearance and real event were distinct.[63]

(Frg. 11): . . . the (souls) which had allowed themselves to be seduced from their former light-nature by love of the world, became enemies of the sacred light, armed themselves openly for the destruction of the sacred elements, and gave themselves up obediently to the spirit of fire. By their hostile persecution they did harm to the holy church and its elect, who are appointed adherents to the heavenly commandments; they are shut out of the blessedness and glorified state of the sacred earth. And because they allowed themselves to be overcome by evil, they shall remain within that breed of evil and have no access to that peaceful earth and the regions of immortality. This will happen to them because they have so entangled

[62] Aug., *de natura boni* 46, 884.29–886.17. [63] Evod., *de fide* 28, 964.7–10.

themselves in evil works that they have become alienated from the life and freedom of the sacred light. Therefore they cannot be taken back into those peaceful kingdoms, but will be confined in the terrible 'mass'[64] already mentioned, for which a guard must also be assigned. These souls therefore will remain attached to the things they have loved and be left behind in this 'mass' of darkness. This they have brought upon themselves through their own misdeeds. They made no effort to understand these teachings concerning the future, and when they were granted time to do so, distanced themselves from them.[65]

54. 'The Letter to Menoch'

The authenticity of this text (Latin)[66] remains open to dispute. It was presented by the Pelagian writer Julian of Eclanum, who used it in his attack against Augustine, the former Manichaean.

1 Manes the apostle of Jesus Christ to Menoch[67] his daughter: May grace and well-being be granted to you by our god, who is in reality the true god, and may he himself illuminate your mind, and reveal his righteousness to you, because you are the fruit of a divine lineage.

2 (. . . Declare (?), Admit (?)) those by whom also you have been made as spotless as you are, by recognising how you were before and from what kind of souls you have sprung, a kind blended from all substances and savours and attaching to different appearances. For just as souls are begotten from souls, so the creation of the body derives from the nature of the body. Therefore, what is born of the flesh is flesh; and what of the spirit, is spirit; however by 'the spirit' understand 'the soul', then the soul (is born) of the

[64] Latin 'globus horribilis'. The term 'globus' (sphere, clump) was used as a Greek loan-word in Syriac and was certainly known to Mani. Cf. Ephraim, *ad Hypatium* III, ed. Mitchell (1912–22), I, 87.43.

[65] Evod., *de fide* 5, 952.28–953.16 and Aug., *de natura boni*, 42, 878.23–5.

[66] Aug., *contra Julianum opus imperfectum,* III, 172.1–12, 186.5–12, 187.2–11, 37–42, 47–9 and 53–9 ed. Zelzer, CSEL LXXV/1 (Vienna, 1974) 473 and 485–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu and S. Llewelyn with acknowledgement to an earlier unpublished draft translation by C. J. Morgan for the Database of Manichaean Texts. See also the text in Adam (1969) §12, pp. 31–2 (based on *PL* 45.1318–27) which is still widely used. For an edition of the epistle with a full listing of testimonia and a detailed commentary see Stein (1998). The numbering of the subdivisions in the translation follows that of Stein's edition. For a full study with text and translation, including those of contextual material, see Harrison and BeDuhn (2001), 131–9.

[67] Among the titles of Mani's epistles cited by an-Nadīm (see above, **50**) are: 'The first Persian epistle of Maynaq. The second epistle of Maynaq. The epistle of tithe and alms. The epistle of Ardaīr and Maynaq'. However, there are good grounds to dispute Mani's authorship for the extant citations. Julian claimed to have acquired it via Constantinople, but Augustine claimed (*c. Jul. op. impf.* III, ed. cit. 165.4–166.5) that he had never come across it before. The letter, as Stein ((1998), 28–33) has ably demonstrated, manifests a number of peculiar readings in its New Testament citations which suggest an author familiar with the Latin version of Paul's Letters and also preoccupation with theological issues (such as infant baptism) which could not possibly have been of interest to Mani.

soul, and the flesh of flesh. 3. So just as God is the originator of souls, so the devil is the originator of bodies through lust, so that in the devil's snare by means of the lust of a woman, whence the devil lies in wait, (he catches (?)) not souls but bodies, either by sight, or by touch, or by hearing, or by smell, or by taste. 4. In short, abolish the root of this evil stock and gaze at once on your own spiritual self. For, says the scripture, the root of all evils is lust.

5. Wherefore see how foolish are they who say that his creative act was established by the good God, which act they are sure is begotten of the spirit of lust. (Yet) they unite with unwilling heart and they act with hidden shames, while they hate the light so that their works may not be made manifest. 6. For the sake of which the apostle says (Rom. 9:16): 'That it may be understood, this work is not of a willing man.' For if we perform the good, it is not of the flesh; because the deeds of the flesh are plain to see, which are fornication etc., if we do evil, it is not of the soul; because the fruit of the spirit is peace, joy (etc.) (Gal. 5:19 and 22). 7. Finally also the apostle clamours to the Romans (7:19); the good which I wish, I do not do; but I work at the evil which I dread. You see the voice of the stubborn soul, defending the freedom of the soul against lust. For he grieves because sin, i.e. the devil, is working every lust against him. 8. The authority of the law proclaims his wickedness, when it censures all his practices, which the flesh admires and praises; for every bitterness of lust is sweet to the soul, through it the soul is nourished and stirred to activity. 9. In short, the soul of the man who restrains himself from all practice of lust is wakeful, is enriched and grows; but by the practice of lust it is wont to diminish . . .

3 It is worth mentioning, because the first soul, which sprang from the God of Light, received that creation of the body that it might control it with its own restraint. The command came, sin which appeared to have been a prisoner, revived; the devil found his moments, led astray into it (i.e. the soul) the disposition of lust and by means of it he ruined it. The law indeed is pure, but pure for the pure (soul); and God's command is both just and good, but for the just and good (soul).

4 1. Yet, these are men who have dared to say that this lust is a good thing in opposition to the evangelical and apostolic books, which they keep reading in vain; you may see how their holy men at one time have slept with their daughters, at other times have had intercourse with several concubines and wives as well. And the apostles do not see this: what alliance is there for light and darkness, for the faithful and the faithless, for Christ and Babel? 2. They go astray, gathered in the gloom of lust, whose poison they so enjoy, that, seized with madness, when they perform this act, they

think it has been permitted by God as if they did not know that the apostle said; what things are done by them in the dark, it is shameful to speak indeed . . .

5 1. Come, you defender of lust, with frank speech relate its fruits and its works. Behold in opposition to it I do not fear the light, which it trembles and hates. For everyone who does evil hates the light and does not come to the light lest his works be manifest. 2. Do you see that lust is the source of evil,[68] through which wretched souls are the slaves to desire, not of their own accord, because this is the only thing which we do with unwilling heart.

6 In short, every sin is outside the body, because it is active; but he who fornicates, sins against his own body. For every sin, before it is committed, does not exist; and after the deed, only the memory of its doing remains, not the image (?) itself; but the evil of lust, because it is natural, exists before it is committed; when it takes place, it is increased; and after the deed it is seen and endures.

7 If sin is not natural, why are infants baptised, who are agreed to have done no evil of themselves?[69]

8 (Let those answer), whom I have to question with these words, – if every evil is committed by an act, then before anyone does evil, why does he receive the purification of water, when he has done no evil of his own accord? Or, if he has not yet done it, must he also be purified? Is it permitted that they declare the springing forth of evil lineage by nature, these wicked men themselves whom madness does not allow to understand either what they are saying or what they are asserting as true?

55. Spurious letters attributed to Mani

The following four fragments are all cited in polemics against Monophysites by Orthodox writers and are very likely to be fabrications.

Fragment of a Letter to Addas (Greek):[70]

The Galileans affirm that Christ has two natures but we pour rude laughter on them. For they do not know that the substance of light is not mixed with

[68] A peculiar misquotation of 1Tim. 6.10: 'For the love of money is the root of all evils, . . .' which seems to suggest familiarity of the reading 'cupiditas' for 'avaritia' in the versions of the Latin New Testament which argues against the letter being a genuine work of Mani. Cf. Stein (1998), 29–36.

[69] An argument unlikely to have been used by Mani given the lack of interest in the topic of infant baptism among Syriac-speaking Christians at the time of Mani. Cf. Stein (1998), 38–9.

[70] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam,* ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum, PG* 86.904A (= Adam (1969) §13, p. 33); Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

another matter but is pure, and cannot be united with another substance even if they seem to be joined. The title of 'Christ' is a name which is loosely applied and does not give any indication of form or being. But the highest light, remaining one with his own, appointed for himself a body among earthly bodies, being completely of one nature.

Fragment of a Letter to the Saracen Kundaros (Greek):[71]

When the Jews desired to stone Christ and to put into action the daring of their lawlessness, the son of the highest light manifested his nature clearly, and he walked through their midst without their seeing him. For the immaterial form was, though conformed in appearance to the flesh, not visible nor tangible, as matter has nothing in common with the immaterial. His (i.e. Christ's) nature is one throughout even though his bodily form was visible.

Fragment of a Letter to Scythianus (Greek):[72]

The son of the eternal light manifested his own being on the mountain since he did not have two natures, but one nature, both visible and invisible.

Fragment of a Letter to his disciple Zabinas (Greek):[73]

The nature of light is entirely one and does not suffer and its power is one. For the light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overcome it. (The light) touched not the substance of flesh, but was veiled with a likeness and form of flesh, lest it should be overcome by the substance of the flesh, and suffer and be spoiled, the darkness spoiling its operations as light. How then did it suffer since neither did darkness overcome it nor was its operation darkened?

A single nature does not die and a semblance of flesh is not crucified. Therefore, the light remained in possession of one nature, and one activity which suffered nothing from the veil of flesh which does not have a nature which is overcome.

[71] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum,* ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 64 (= Adam (1969) §14, p. 33); Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

[72] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum.* ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 91, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35–6; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Scythianus was the name of the precursor of Mani in the polemical *Acta Archelai*.

[73] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 41; Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

CHAPTER 5

Teachings

For a summary of Mani's teaching see Introduction (pp. 8–21). The following extracts give emphasis to Manichaean writings in Coptic because of their relative inaccessibility.

56. The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani'

This psalm (*PsBk2*. 9.3–11.32 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) is now found amongst the 'psalms of the bema', at least in the Medinet Madi codex. However, it is so clearly a fundamental account of the entire history of the conflict between the two principles, the loss and redemption of the living soul, that it is tempting to suppose some special status for the piece. See further Wurst (1991).

(Psalm) 223

9 Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.

Let us bless our lord Jesus who has sent to us
the Spirit of truth. He came and separated us from the error
of the world, he brought us a mirror, we looked,
we saw the all in it.

When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us
the way of truth and taught us that there are two
natures, that of light and that of darkness,
separate one from the other from the beginning.

The kingdom of light, on the one hand consisted in five
greatnesses, and they are the Father and his twelve
aeons and the aeons of the aeons, the living air,
the land of light; the Great Spirit breathing in them,
nourishing them with its light.

However, the kingdom of darkness consists of five storehouses,
which are smoke and fire
and wind and water and darkness; their counsel
creeping in them, moving them and raising them
to make war with one another.

Now, as they were making war with one another they dared
to make an attempt upon the land of light, thinking that they
would be able to conquer it. Yet they know not that which they have
thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.

And there was a multitude of angels in the land of the light,
having the power to go forth to subdue the enemy
of the Father, whom it pleased that by his word that
he would send, he should subdue the rebels who desired
to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.

Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to
10 destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes
a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him
by it; for by a single lamb he saves his
sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that
has been wounded by the lion.

This too is the way of the Father, who sent his
strong son; and he produced from himself his
virgin equipped with five powers, that
she might fight against the five abysses of the dark.

When the watcher stood by the borders
of the light, he showed to them his virgin who
is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring
to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring
to swallow her.

He held fast her crown, he spread her over them, like
nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them
like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself
within them like piercing lightning. She crept in their
inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.

When the First Man had perfected his war,
the Father sent his second son.
He came and helped his brother out of the abyss;
he established this whole universe out of the mixture that
took place of the light and the darkness.

He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and
eight earths, he shut them up in this universe
for a season; while he made it a prison for all the powers of
darkness,
it is also a place of purification for the soul that was
swallowed in them.

The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to
purify the soul. Daily they take up the refined part
to the heights, but the dregs however they scrape
11 down to the abyss, what is mixed they convey
above and below.

This entire universe stands firm for a season, there
being a great building which is being built outside this
world. So soon as that Builder shall finish,
the whole universe will be dissolved and set on fire
that the fire may smelt it away.

All life, the relic of light wheresoever it be, he will
gather to himself and of it depict a Statue.
And the counsel of death too, all the darkness,
he will gather together and paint its very self for a (bond (?))
for the ruler.

In an instant the Living Spirit will come . . .
. . . he will succour the light. However, the counsel of death
and the darkness he will shut up in the tomb
that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.

There is no other means to bind the enemy save this means;
for he will not be received to the light because he is a stranger
to it;
nor again can he be left in his land of darkness, that he may
not wage a war greater than the first.

A new aeon will be built in the place of this universe
that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the light may
reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will
of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have
. . . over him for ever.

This is the knowledge of Mani, let us worship him
and bless him. Blessed is he every one that believes in him,
for he it is who may live with all the righteous.

Glory and victory to our lord Mani, the Spirit of
truth that comes from the Father, who has unveiled for us
the beginning, the middle and the end.
Victory to the soul of the blessed Maria, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

57. Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system

This schematic representation of the Manichaean system is by the Neo-Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis (early fourth century, AD Greek).[1] It is a remarkable testimony to the rapid penetration of Manichaean beliefs even amongst philosophical circles in Egypt.

(II.) This is a summary of Mani's doctrine as we know it from members of his circle: He established as principles (p. 5) God and matter (Gr. *hyle*). God is good, matter is evil. However, there is still more good in God than there is evil in matter. That which he calls matter is not what Plato (*civ.* II 358e) thus named, in other words that which becomes all things by assuming the nature and the form (it is the reason why Plato calls it 'universal receptacle', or 'mother' and 'wet-nurse') (*Tim*. 49a). Neither is it what Aristotle meant, in other words the element to which form and privation relate (*organ*. II, p. 402ff., ed. Waitz), it is something else still. Indeed, it is the random movement (Gr. *ataktos kinēsis*) which is in every being, that is what Mani calls 'matter'. Other powers stand at God's side, these play the role of auxiliaries and are wholly good. And beside matter, there are, seemingly, other powers which are wholly evil. The splendour, the light, the on-high, all these powers are with God. Obscurity, the darkness and the here-below are with matter. God also has

[1] Alexander Lycopolitanus, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* II–V, ed. Brinkmann (1895) 4–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu and S. Vince. On Alexander as an important early source on Manichaeism, see esp. van der Horst and Mansfeld (1974); Stroumsa (1991); A. Villey (1985).

desires, but these are all good. Matter too has desires, but they are all evil.

III. At one time, matter was seized with desire to ascend to the place on high. And, having reached it, it marvelled at the splendour and the light which were in God's company. It wished to become master of this kingdom and drive God out of it. The latter resolved to punish it, but he had difficulty in finding the evil necessary for its punishment: in fact there is no evil in God's house. Therefore he hastened to dispatch a power,[2] that which we call the soul,[3] to confront matter, with the aim of bringing about a complete mingling with it. And its consequent separation from this power would result in the death of matter. It is thus that by virtue of divine providence (p. 6) the mingling of the soul and matter will be achieved, a mingling of unlike with unlike. Yet in this mingling, the soul will contract the same affections as matter. In the same way as the contents of a poor-quality jar often become contaminated, so it is with matter, the soul undergoes something similar and, contrary to its true nature, is diminished by having had dealings with matter.

Now God was filled with compassion, and he sent another power, that which we call the 'demiurge'.[4] When this power had arrived and taken in hand the creation of the world, it separated from matter that part of the power which had not had to suffer anything contrary to its nature by virtue of the mingling: thus the sun and moon were first created. The part which had suffered moderately from dealings with matter gave birth to the stars and to the whole sky. As for the portion of matter from which the sun and moon had been separated, it was relegated beyond the confines of the world, and it is a fire, definitely burning, but without brilliance, almost like the night. As for the other elements, and the plants and animals which populate them, the divine power was mingled with them in unequal proportions. That is the reason for which the world came into being and, in this world, the sun and moon which, by means of generations and corruptions, continually separate the divine power from matter and dispatch it to God.

IV. Indeed, there is another power[5] beside the demiurge, which has borrowed the luminous rays of the sun to descend, and which works at this

[2] I.e. the Primal Man. Alexander gives no account of his suffering in the kingdom of darkness.

[3] A statement commonly found in polemical writings, see e.g. *Acta Archelai* VI (*ap*. Epiph., *Panarion* LXVI.25.8) (*v. infra*, **58**) where it was the armour of the Primal Man which was the soul. However, Manichaean writings are much less unequivocal on this equation.

[4] Viz. the Living Spirit. Unlike the gnostics, the demiurge is not a negative figure in Manichaeism.

[5] Viz. the Third Messenger. Alexander is almost unique among Greek and Latin sources in identifying both demiurgic figures in the Manichaean system.

labour of separation. This labour is an obvious thing and, so it is said, even a blind man can see it. For in its waxing phase the moon collects the power which was separated from matter, and becomes filled with it during this time. (p. 7) Then, once it is full, it wanes, causing the said power to re-ascend into the sun. The sun in its turn sends it back towards God. That done, the sun receives, emanating from the last full moon, another part of the soul which migrates towards it, and, having received it, leaves it to make its own way to God by the same means. That is the sun's perpetual task.

Furthermore, one can see in the sun an image which resembles the human form. Seeing it, matter was seized with the desire to imitate it and produced man itself, thanks to the total mingling which links it to the power: therefore man himself also possesses a particle of the soul. Nevertheless, the form has contributed greatly to the fact that man participates in the divine power more than other living beings and mortals, since he himself finds that he is an image of this divine power.

Christ is an intellect (Gr. *nous*).[6] Coming one day from the place on high, he liberated the greater part of the power in order to restore it to God and finally, through his crucifixion, he made it known that in the same way the divine power was nailed or, in other words, crucified on matter.[7]

So, therefore, since God's decree commands that matter should perish, one must abstain from all food derived from animals, eat vegetables and all things which have no feeling, abstain from marriage, the pleasures of love-making and the begetting of children, so that the time the power spends in matter is not prolonged through succeeding generations. But it is also forbidden for Manichaeans who put themselves to death to be granted an artificial purification of the stains which their mingling with matter inflicted on the power.

v. Such are their principal doctrines. Besides, they honour the sun and moon above all else, not as gods, but as the way which allows access to God.

[6] The identification of Christ the saviour with *nous* goes back to the earliest Manichaean writings. In the *Šābuhragān* (see above, p. 152), the name for Christ in Middle Persian was *xrdyšhr yzd* ('God of the World of Wisdom or Intellect'). Cf. Rose (1979), 138. While the Light Mind was identified with Jesus the Splendour or the Jesus of Light by the Manichaeans, the same identification is not made with Jesus the Messiah who suffered in the hands of the Jews and was crucified. The statement that 'Christ is Nous' is further elaborated in the treatise of Alexander (§24, 34.17–35.20, ed. Brinkmann) in which he defended the name of Christ from a Christian position against Manichaean misuse which may indicate that he might have once been a Christian. On this see the important observations of Edwards (1989).

[7] I.e. Jesus Patibilis, the third manifestation of Jesus in Manichaeism.

They also say that after the total separation of the (p. 8) divine power, the external fire will melt from on high and will consume itself, together with all substance that still remains.

58. The Acta Archelai *on cosmogony*

Summary of Manichaean teaching on cosmogony from the *Acta Archelai*[8] (mid-late 4th C., Greek, with a near contemporary Latin version).[9]

(**25**), 3 Summary of the sacrilegious teachings of Mani:
(VII) If you wish to become acquainted with Mani's belief, then hear it from me in a brief summary. He reveres two unbegotten, eternal gods originating from their own nature, of whom the one is the adversary of the other. He introduces the one as good, the other as evil. To the one he gives the name light, to the other darkness, and he says that the soul which is in man is a part of light, whereas the body belongs to darkness and is a creation of matter. 4. He says that a mixture or confusion of them came about in the following way, comparing the two gods with the following illustration. Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attacked light. 5. However, when the good Father noticed that darkness had penetrated his land, he caused to emanate from himself a power, the so-called Mother of Life and from this emanated the First Man (and) the five elements. These are wind, light, water, fire and air.[10] 6. And when he had put on these as battle armour, he descended and fought with darkness. The rulers of darkness then went over to a counter attack and ate of his armour, which is the soul. 7. Then the First Man

[8] Traditionally attributed to Hegemonius, the *Acta Archelai* purports to be a record of debates between Mani and various Christian leaders across the frontier in the Roman Empire, especially with the bishop Archelaeus at Carchar (= Carrhae in Osrhoene ?). The work, which also contains a highly satirical version of the life of Mani, enjoyed enormous popularity in late antiquity. Originally composed in Greek in the first half of the fourth century, it has survived in a complete form only in a near contemporary translation in Latin. However, the heresiologist Epiphanius has preserved in Greek in his lengthy article on the heresy (*Panarion* LXVI) substantial parts of the Greek version of the *Acta* including the important sections containing the summary of Mani's system. On the *Acta* as a source for the history of early Manichaeism see S. N. C. Lieu (1988); and Scopello (1995).

[9] Epiphanius, *Panarion* LXVI.25.3–31.8, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS (Berlin, 1985), 53.18–72.8; Eng. trans. M. Vermes and S. Lieu. The chapter numberings in Roman numerals are those of the Latin version of the *Acta Archelai* (ed. C. H. Beeson, GCS (Leipzig, 1916) 9–22). The chapter and section numberings in Arabic numerals in the translation follow those of Holl's edition of Epiphanius. For a detailed commentary on the summary see Riggi (1967), 110–59.

[10] The text reads 'matter' (Gr. *hyle*) but most scholars prefer 'air' (*aēr*) as the fifth light element, and in Coptic sources it is the living air (e.g. *PsBk2.* 137.36–7). The (erroneous?) reading clearly goes back to the earliest Greek versions of the *Acta Archelai* as the Latin translation gives *materia*.

down below was pressed very hard by darkness, and if the Father had not heard his prayer and sent out another power, which emanated from him, that is the so-called Living Spirit, and if this latter had not descended and stretched out his right hand, leading the First Man out of darkness, then he would long ago have risked being held fast. So from then on he left the soul down there. 8. It is for this reason that the Manichaeans shake each other by the right hand when they meet, as a sign that they are saved from darkness. For, he says, all the sects are in the darkness. Then the Living Spirit created the world, put on three other powers, descended, brought up the rulers and crucified them in the firmament, which is their body, the sphere.

(VIII) **26** Then the Living Spirit created the lights, which are the remnants of the soul, and made them circle round the firmament. Furthermore he created the earth in eight forms.[11] The Porter down below carries it, and when he becomes weary of carrying, he trembles and causes an earthquake, outside the determined time. 2. For this reason the good Father sent his son from his bosom into the heart of the earth and into its lowest parts, to bring upon him a suitable punishment. For every time the earth quakes, he is either trembling with weariness, or transferring the earth onto his other shoulder. 3. Then matter created plants from itself and when they had been stolen by certain archons, it called all the highest archons, took power from them individually, formed this man in the image of that First Man and bound soul in him. This is the reason for the mingling. 4. Still, when the living Father saw the soul suffering in the body, then in grace and mercy he sent his beloved son for the salvation of the soul. It was for this reason and because of the Porter that he sent him. 5. And the son came, transformed himself into human form, and appeared to men as a man, although he was not human. And people believed that he had been begotten. 6. So he came and made creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessels; this is turned by the sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon, as we call it. For he describes the two lights as ships or ferries. 7. Then when the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east and so wanes, as it is lightened of its load. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul. For every soul and every living creature has a share in the good Father's

[11] I.e. the eight earths (on which see Introduction, p. 15). It is odd that they are mentioned here without the usual accompanying 'ten heavens' or 'ten skies'.

being, he maintains. 8. Now when the moon has passed on to the aeons of the Father its burden of souls, they remain in the Pillar of splendour,[12] the so-called perfect air.[13] This air is a pillar of light, because it is full of souls being purified. This is the reason why souls come to salvation.

(IX) **27** The reason, however, why men die is as follows: A lovely, decorated and very attractive maiden[14] tries to rob the rulers, who were brought up and crucified in the firmament by the Living Spirit, by appearing to the male rulers as a beautiful woman, to the female ones as a good-looking and desirable youth. 2. When the rulers see how beautiful she is, they are stung by a love-charm; since they cannot grasp her however, they become terribly enflamed and erotic desire deprives them of all reason. 3. Now when the maiden becomes invisible before their advance, the great ruler produces clouds from out of himself, to darken the world in his anger, and if he strains much, like a man he sweats and grows tired, and his sweat is the rain. 4. If at the same time the ruler of the harvest is robbed by the maiden, he pours out an epidemic over the whole earth, to kill men; for this body is called cosmos, corresponding to the macrocosm, and all men have roots beneath, which are linked with those above. So when he is robbed by the maiden, he begins to cut off men's roots; and when their roots are cut off, the epidemic breaks out and so they die. 5. However, if that which is above the roots sways as a result of the tension, an earthquake occurs as a consequence, with the Porter also shuddering. This is the cause of death.

(X) **28** I will tell you also how the soul transmigrates into different bodies. First of all a little of it is purified, then it moves into the body of a dog, of a camel or of another living creature. If it is a murderous soul, it is carried into the bodies of lepers; if it is found to have harvested, into those whose speech is handicapped. (The names of the soul are as follows: mind (Gr. *nous*), thinking, intellect, thought, reasoning.) 2. The harvest workers, who do the reaping, are like the archons, who were in darkness from the beginning, when they ate of the armour of the First Man. So they must be transformed into grass or beans or barley or ears of grain or vegetables, so that they too can be harvested and cut down. 3. If someone

[12] Or 'radiant Pillar'.

[13] Often emended to 'Perfect Man' (the Latin version of the Acta gives 'vir perfectus'). However, the association of both 'air' (Gr. *aēr*) and 'man' (Gr. *anēr*) with the Pillar of light is found in Manichaean texts. See e.g. *PsBk2*.CCLXVI, trans. Allberry, 83.25–8: 'Hail, Perfect Man, holy path that draws to the height, clear air, mooring-harbour of all that believe in him: open to me thy secrets and take me to thee from affliction.' On this see van Lindt (1992) 170–5, esp. 174–5.

[14] I.e. the Virgin of Light. The link between the Virgin and human mortality and judgement is also found in other Manichaean texts. See e.g. *PsBk2*. CCLXVII, 84.30–2 and *Keph*. XCV, 244.9–13. Cf. van Lindt (1992) 176–81.

eats bread, he must also become bread and be eaten. If someone kills a bird, he will become a bird; if someone kills a mouse, he will become a mouse. 4. Furthermore, if someone is rich in this world, and has departed from his tent, he must pass over into the body of a beggar, so that he moves around and begs, and then goes into eternal punishment. 5. However, because this body belongs to the rulers and to matter, a man who plants a persea tree[15] must move through many bodies until that persea tree is felled. If a man builds himself a house, he will be distributed to all the bodies. If a man bathes, then he fixes his soul to the water. 6. And if a man does not give alms to the elect, he will be punished in hell and reincarnated in the bodies of catechumens, until he has given many alms. For this reason they bring the best of foods as offerings to the elect. 7. When they are about to eat bread, they pray first, saying to the bread: 'I have neither harvested you, nor have I ground you, nor pressed you, nor put you in an oven, but someone else has done all this and brought you to me; I have eaten (you) without guilt.'[16] When he has said this to himself, he says to the catechumen, 'I have prayed for you', and so the latter goes on his way. 8. As I said to you a little earlier, if a man reaps, he will be reaped, and similarly one who throws grain in the machine, will also be thrown in himself; whoever kneads, will also be kneaded, whoever bakes bread will also be baked. For this reason they are forbidden to carry out an occupation. 9. Once more they say that there are other worlds, from which the lights rise again, when they have set in this world. And if a man walks on the ground, he damages the earth. And whoever moves his hand, causes damage to the air; for the air is the soul of men, of animals, of birds, of fishes and of reptiles, and of anything else there is in the world. For I have told you that this body does not belong to God, but to matter, that it is dark and must be kept in the dark.

(XI) **29** About paradise, which is called "world". The trees in it are desires and other deceptions, which spoil the thoughts of men. That tree in paradise by which they know good, is Jesus, and the knowledge of him which is in the world. 2. Whoever accepts it, distinguishes between good and evil. However, the world itself is not of God, but was formed from a part of matter and for this reason everything goes to its ruin. However, what the rulers robbed from the First Man is what fills up the moon and is daily purified out of the world. 3. And if a soul departs which has not recognised the truth, it is given over to the demons, so that they can subdue it in the

[15] I.e. a fig tree. Cf. Riggi (1967) 136–7, n. 1.
[16] For a similar prayer see *P.Rylands Greek* 469.23–6; translation given in **23** (ch. 3, *supra*).

hells of fire. After the chastisement it is transformed into other bodies, so that it can be subdued, and so it is thrown into the great fire until the very end.

30 About the prophets among you he says this: there are spirits of godlessness or lawlessness of the darkness which rose up at the beginning; and by them they were led into error and did not speak truly. For that ruler has blinded their senses. 2. And if anyone follows their words, he dies for all eternity, bound up in the "lump" (Gr. *bolos*), because he has not learnt the knowledge of the Paraclete. 3. He commanded his elect alone, who are not more than seven in number:[17] 'If you cease to eat, pray and put on your head an olive branch, exorcised in many names, to strengthen this faith.' The names however were not revealed to me; for only the seven make use of them. 4. And he went on to say that the name Sabaoth, which is great and honoured among you, is the nature of mankind and the father of desire, and for this reason simpletons worship desire because they take it for god.

5. (XII) About how Adam was created, he says this: the one who said 'Well then, let us make a man in our image and in our likeness' or in other words according to the shape which we have seen, is the ruler, who said to the other rulers: 'Well then, give me of the light, which we have received, and let us make a man, after the shape of ourselves, the rulers, which we have seen, which is the First Man.' 6. And so they created man. They created Eve in the same way and gave to her a share of their own desire, so as to deceive Adam. And through them the creation of the world came about by the creative activity of the ruler.

31 He says that God has no part in the world itself and takes no pleasure in it, because from the beginning he has been robbed by the rulers and come into oppression. For this reason he sends out and robs them of his soul every day by means of these lights, sun and moon, by which the whole world and all creation is plundered. 2. The one who spoke with Moses, the Jews and the priests is, he says, the ruler of darkness; so Christians, Jews and heathens are all one and the same, because they honour the same God. For he deceives them by his desires, because he is not the God of truth. 3. So all those who hope in that God, who spoke to Moses and the prophets, share with him the fate of being bound, because they did not put their hope in

[17] This is an odd piece of information as the number of *electi* must have exceeded the number of Mani's original disciples which was twelve (see below, Aug., *de haer.* XLVI.16, *trans. Infra*, **59**). Although the Latin translation of the *Acta* (XII.4, ed. Beeson, 19.18–19) gives the same information, later in the Latin version of the same polemical treatise (63.5, p. 92.7) we learn from Turbo a (fictitious?) disciple of Mani that one morning after the proto-Manichaean Terebinthus 'had climbed a high roof top, where he began to invoke certain names which only seven of the elect have been taught', which seems to point to an early misunderstanding by the author in summarising the teaching of Mani.

the God of truth. For that other one spoke with them according to their desires.

4. (XIII) After all this at the end he says, as he has written: When the elder lets his image appear, then the Porter will let the world go, and so the great fire will become free and devour the whole world. 5. Then again he puts the "lump" in the middle of the new aeon, so that all the souls of sinners shall be bound for ever. These things will happen, when the statue comes. 6. However, all the emanations, Jesus who is in the little ship, the Mother of Life, the twelve steersmen, the Virgin of Light and the third elder, who is in the large ship, and the Living Spirit and the wall of the great fire and the wall of the wind and of the air and of the water and of the inner living fire, all dwell in the little light, until the fire has consumed the whole world; within how many years I was not able to discover.[18] 7. And after that the restoration of the two natures will take place and the rulers will inhabit their lower parts, while the father will dwell in the upper parts, when he takes his own. 8. All of this teaching he passed on to his three disciples and commanded each one to go to different areas. Addas received the regions of the East, Thomas was given the land of the Syrians, Hermeias the other one travelled to Egypt. And they remain there until today, because they wish to lay the foundation of the teaching.

59. Augustine's summary of the teaching

This is the most complete and structured summary of the Manichaean system by Augustine.[19]

1. The Manichaeans sprang from a certain Persian called Manes, but when they began to publish his mad doctrine in Greece, his disciples chose to call him Manichaeus to avoid the word for 'madness'. For the same reason some of them, somewhat more learned and therefore more deceitful, called him Mannicheus, doubling the letter 'n', as if he were one who pours out manna.

2. He invented two principles, different from and opposed to each other, both eternal and co-eternal, that is, he imagined they have always been. Following other ancient heretics, he also believed that there were two natures and substances, that is, one good and one evil. Proclaiming, on the basis of their teachings, a mutual strife and commingling of the two natures, a purgation of good from evil, and eternal damnation, along with the evil,

[18] According to Manichaean teaching the Great Fire will burn for 1,468 years. Cf. *Keph*. XXIV, 75.22–3.
[19] Aug., *de Haeresibus* XLVI.1–8 and 11–19, ed. cit., 84–94; trans. cit., 85–95, revised by S. Llewelyn.

of the good which cannot be purged, these heretics devise many myths. It would be too tiresome to treat all their doctrines in this work.

3. As a consequence of these ridiculous and unholy fables, they are forced to say that both God and the good souls, which they believe have to be freed from their admixture with the contrary nature of the evil souls, are of one and the same nature.

4. Then they declare that the world has been made by the nature of the good, that is, by the nature of God, but yet that it was formed of a mixture of good and evil which resulted when these two natures fought among themselves.

5. However, they claim that not only do the powers of God effect this purgation and liberation of good and evil throughout the whole universe and of all its elements, but also that their own elect achieve the same results by means of the food of which they partake. And they state that the divine substance is intermingled with this food just as it is with the whole universe, and imagine that it is purified in their elect by the mode of life which the Manichaean elect live, as if their mode of life were holier and more excellent than that of their hearers. For they would have their church consist of those two classes, elect and hearers.

6. Moreover, they believe that this portion of the good and divine substance which is held mixed and imprisoned in food and drink is more strongly and foully bound in the rest of men, even their own hearers, but particularly in those who propagate offspring. Now whenever any portion of the light is completely purified, it returns to the kingdom of God, to its own proper abode, as it were, on certain vessels, which are, according to them, the moon and the sun. In addition, they maintain that these vessels are likewise fashioned from the pure substance of God.

7. They also state that this physical light, which lies before the gaze of mortal eyes, not only in those vessels where they believe it to exist in its purest state, but also in certain bright objects where they consider it held in admixture and needing purification, is the divine nature. For they ascribe five elements which have generated their own princes to the people of darkness and give to these elements the names: smoke, darkness, fire, water, and wind. Two-footed animals were generated in smoke, and from this source they believe men to take their beginnings; serpents were generated in darkness; quadrupeds in fire; swimming creatures in the waters; flying creatures in the wind. Five other elements have been sent from the kingdom and substance of God to conquer the five evil elements, and in that struggle air has become mixed with smoke, light with darkness, good fire with bad fire, good water with bad water, good wind with bad wind. They

make this distinction between the two vessels, that is, the two lights of heaven, saying that the moon has been made of good water, and the sun has been made of good fire.

8. Moreover, on those vessels there are holy powers, which at one time change themselves into males to attract females of the opposing faction, and at another into females to attract males of that same opposite faction. The purpose of this is to enable the light which they have intermingled in their members to escape when their passions are aroused by this attraction, and to allow it to be taken up by the angels of light for purification, and when purified to be placed aboard those vessels to be carried back to their proper realm . . .[20]

11. Yet they do not eat meat either, on the grounds that the divine substance has fled from the dead or slain bodies, and what little remains there is of such quality and quantity that it does not merit being purified in the stomachs of the elect. They do not even eat eggs, claiming that they too die when they are broken, and it is not fitting to feed on any dead bodies; only that portion of flesh can live which is picked up by flour to prevent its death. Moreover, they do not use milk for food although it is drawn or milked from the live body of an animal, not with the conviction that there is nothing of the divine substance intermingled with it, but because error itself is inconsistent. For they do not drink wine either, claiming that bitterness is a property of the princes of darkness, though they do eat grapes. They do not even drink must, even the most freshly pressed.

12. They believe that the souls of their hearers are returned to the elect, or by a happier short-cut to the food of their elect so that already purged, they would then not have to transmigrate into other bodies. On the other hand, they believe that other souls pass into cattle and into everything that is rooted in and supported on the earth. For they are convinced that plants and trees possess sentient life and can feel pain when injured, and therefore that no one can pull or pluck them without torturing them. Therefore, they consider it wrong to clear a field even of thorns. Hence, in their madness they make agriculture, the most innocent of occupations, guilty of multiple murder. On the other hand, they believe that these crimes are forgiven their hearers because the latter offer food of this sort to the elect in order that the divine substance, on being purged in their stomachs, may obtain pardon for those through whose offering it is given to be purged. And so the elect themselves perform no labours in the field, pluck no fruit, pick not even a leaf, but expect all these things to be brought for their use by

[20] The sections omitted (i.e. §§9 and 10) are given in **40** (ch. 3, *supra*).

their hearers, living all the while, according to their own foolish thinking, on innumerable and horrible murders committed by others. They caution their same hearers, furthermore, when they eat meat, not to kill the animals, to avoid offending the princes of darkness who are bound in the celestials. From them, they claim, all flesh has its origin.

13. And if they make use of marriage, they should, however, avoid conception and birth to prevent the divine substance, which has entered into them through food, from being bound by chains of flesh in their offspring. For this is the way, indeed, they believe that souls come into all flesh, that is, through food and drink. Hence, without doubt, they condemn marriage and forbid it as much as is in their power, since they forbid the propagation of offspring, the reason for marriage. 14. They assert that Adam and Eve had as their parents princes of smoke, since their father, whose name was Saclas, had devoured the children of all his associates, and in lying with his wife had, as if with the strongest of chains, bound in the flesh of his offspring whatever he had received mixed with the divine substance.

15. They maintain that the serpent of whom our scriptures speak was Christ, and they say that our first parents were illuminated by the latter so that they might open the eyes of knowledge, and discern good and evil; further, that this Christ came in recent times to set souls free, not bodies; and that he did not come in real flesh, but presented the simulated appearance of flesh to deceive human perception, and therein he feigned not only death, but resurrection as well. They assert that the god who gave the law through Moses, and who spoke in the Hebrew prophets is not the true God, but one of the princes of darkness. Even in the New Testament they, claiming falsification, choose among the various books, and thus they accept what they like from it and reject what they do not like. They prefer certain apocryphal writings to the scriptures, as if they contained the whole truth.

16. They claim that the promise of the lord Jesus Christ regarding the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, was fulfilled in their heresiarch Manichaeus. For this reason, in his writings he calls himself the apostle of Jesus Christ, in that Christ had promised to send him and had sent the Holy Spirit in him. For the same reason Manichaeus also had twelve disciples in imitation of the twelve apostles. The Manichaeans keep this number even today. For they have twelve of their elect whom they call masters, and a thirteenth who is their chief, but seventy-two bishops who receive their orders from the masters, and an indefinite number of priests who are ordained by

the bishops. The bishops also have deacons. The rest are called merely the elect; but even any of their members who seem suitable are sent to strengthen and support this error where it exists, or to plant it where it does not.

17. They allege that baptism in water grants no salvation to anyone, and do not believe that they have to baptise any of those whom they deceive.

18. In the daytime they offer their prayers towards the sun, wherever it goes in its orbit; at night, they offer them towards the moon, if it appears; if it does not, they direct them towards the north, by which the sun, when it has set, returns to the east. They stand while praying.

19. They ascribe the origin of sin not to a free choice of the will, but to the nature of the opposing element, which they hold is intermingled in man. For they assert that all flesh is the work, not of God, but of an evil mind, which emanating from the opposite principle, is coeternal with God. As they will have it, carnal concupiscence, by which the flesh lusts against the spirit, is not an infirmity engendered in us by the corruption of our nature in the first man, but a contrary substance which clings to us in such a way that if we are freed and purged, it can be removed from us, and can live, even alone, immortally in its own nature. These two souls, or two minds, the one good, the other evil, are in conflict with one another in man, when the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. This defect in our nature has not been healed, as we say it has, nor will it ever be healed. Yet, that substance of evil, after being disjoined and separated from us, even at the end of this world, upon the conflagration of the universe, will live in a "lump", as if in an eternal prison. They claim that a sort of envelope or covering, composed of souls which are good by nature, but which, nevertheless, have not been able to be purged from the contagion of the evil nature, will continually come and cling to the "lump".

60. An account of the evocation of the gods

This is one of the best known of the kephalaia (entitled: 'The seventh, concerning the Five Fathers' 34.13–36.26), due to its full and ordered account of the evocation of various Manichaean divinities. However, it is important to note that the schema of the 'five fathers' is not an archetypal classification prior to all the other theological taxonomies evident throughout the texts; but, rather, only a partial and conditioned representation of the overall system.

In temporal priority the Third Ambassador is the principal divinity of the third evocation (*redemption*). In the first evocation (*descent*) the Father had summoned

the Mother of Life, who then called forth the First Man and his five sons. In the second evocation (*creation*) there was summoned the Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit and his five sons. Kephalaion 7 is concerned with the sequence from the Father through the Ambassador; and its purpose is, therefore, the emanation of the divinities from the aspect of redemption.

Once again the enlightener, our father the apostle of truth, is sitting in the midst of his disciples and preaching to them of the greatnesses of God. Again, he speaks to them like this, in his revelation: Five fathers exist, they were summoned forth one of one. Also, one did come out of another!

The first Father is the Father of Greatness, the blessed one of glory, the one who has no measure to his greatness; who also is the first only-begotten, the first eternal; who exists with five fathers for ever; the one who exists before every thing that has existed, and that will exist.

Now he, the glorious Father, summoned from him three emanations. The first is the Great Spirit, the first Mother, who came out of the Father. She appeared first. The second is the Beloved of the Lights, the great glorious Beloved, the one who is honoured; who came out of the Father. He manifested out of him. The third father[21] is the Third Ambassador, the eldest of all the counsellors; who came out of the first Father. He appeared.

This is the first Father, the first power, the one from whom the three great powers came out. This is the first Father, the first eternal, the root of all the lights; from whom the three emanations came out. They have humiliated the darkness. They have brought its heart's desire to naught. They have given themselves the victory. They have also given the victory to their aeons.

The second father, who came out of the first Father, is the Third Ambassador, the model of the King of lights. And, again, he too summoned and sent out of him three powers. One is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man; the one who bears up under all things; the great Pillar of blessing; the great porter, who is greater than all the porters. The second is glorious Jesus the Splendour; the one through whom shall be given life eternal. The third is the Virgin of Light, the glorious wisdom; the one who takes away the heart of the rulers and the powers by her image, as she fulfills the pleasure of the greatness.

[21] Textual error: the Ambassador is the second father, but the third emanation of the first Father.

The third father, who came out of the second father; he is glorious Jesus the Splendour. And, again, he too summoned [20] three evocations after the pattern of the second father. The first power whom he summoned is the Light Mind, the father of all the apostles, the eldest of all the churches; the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy church. The second power whom Jesus summoned [25] is the great Judge, who gives judgement on all the souls of mankind, his dwelling being established in the atmosphere under . . . wheel . . . stars. The third power is the Youth, the great . . . light in his two persons, in . . . , I am speaking about that which has been established [30] in the summons and the obedience. He too stood with his father the king . . . the saviour . . . seen, as he tells . . . I, what I have seen with my Father, I tell to you. For yourselves, what you have seen with your father, do that.[22]

36 The fourth father is the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the churches. And, again, he too summoned three powers after the pattern of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle of Light; the one who shall on occasion come and assume the church [5] of the flesh, of humanity; and he becomes inner leader of righteousness. The second is the counterpart, who shall come to the apostle and appear to him, becoming companion to him, sticking close to him everywhere; and providing help to him all the time, from all afflictions and dangers. The third [10] is the Light Form; the one whom the elect and the catechumens shall receive, should they renounce the world.

And also the fifth father is this Light Form; the one who shall appear to everyone who will go out from his body, corresponding to the pattern of the image to the apostle; and the three [15] great glorious angels who are come with her. One (angel) holds the prize in his hand. The second bears the light garment. The third is the one who possesses the diadem and the wreath and the crown of light. These are the three angels of light, the ones who shall come with this Light Form; [20] and they appear with her to the elect and the catechumens.

These are the five fathers who have come out of one another. They have appeared and manifested through one another. Blessed is he who will know and understand them! For he may find life eternal; and receive these light garments [25] that shall be given to the righteous, the faithful, the givers of peace, and the doers of good things.

[22] John 8:38.

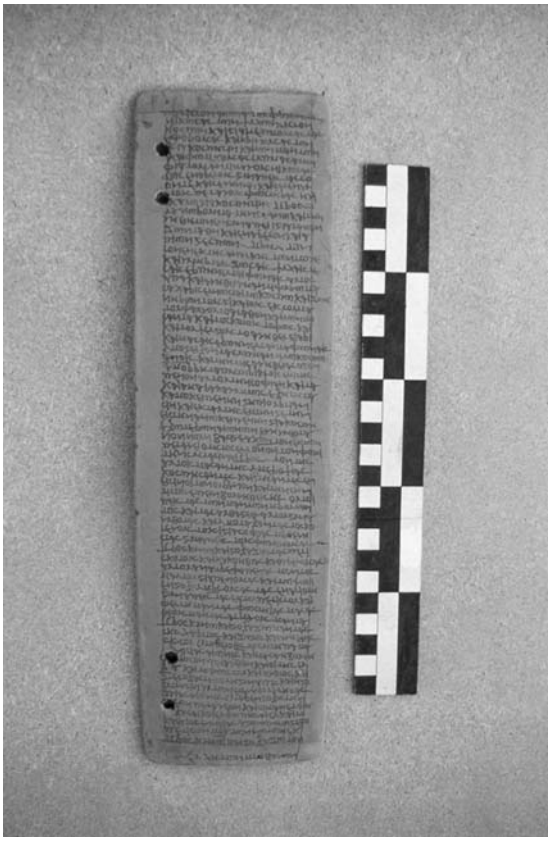


Figure 5.1. Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis

61. 'The prayer of the emanations'

This text (fourth century AD Greek)[23] was found at Ismant el-Kharab in early 1992. The fact that the hymn did not try to disguise or modify its polytheism gives the impression that it was composed in the first half of the fourth century, viz. before the dominance of Christianity compelled the Manichaeans to veil their cult in a semblance of monotheism. The authorship or status of the text is not known, but

[23] Ed. and trans. Jenkins (1995); some adaptations by Gardner and Lieu. (N.b. the provisional numbering system, viz. 'T. Kellis 22', utilised in that publication was subsequently abandoned by the Dakhleh Oasis Project and should not be followed.) The text is described by the editor as follows: 'A single wooden board, 31 high by 9 cm (with *Schriftspiegel* 28 by 7 cm) ultimately deriving (as the presence of binding holes demonstrates) from a wooden board book of narrow proportions. . . . *Nomina sacra* are present, according to a system which is more or less familiar from Christian manuscripts.' (Jenkins (1995), 243).

it is a remarkable example of Manichaean composition in Greek and is unique in the large number of Manichaean *technici termini* (mostly of Syriac origin) which it contains.

(Side I) (*Heading*) Prayer of the Emanations

I worship and glorify the great Father of Lights from pure thought. With a guileless word you have been glorified and honoured: You and your majesty and the wholly blessed aeons. For you in glory have perfected their foundation. Your power and glory and your light and word and your majesty and the aeons of affirmation and all your counsel have been glorified. For you are God, the foundation of every grace and life and truth.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, all splendours, all luminaries, all powers: Those which are from the great and glorious f(ath)er, those which subsist in his holiness, and in his light are nourished, purified from all darkness and malignance.

I worship and glorify the great powers, the enlightening angels: Those, having advanced by their own wisdom and having subjected the darkness and its remorseless powers which were prepared to fight with the ruler of all; these are those who created heaven and earth and bound in them all the substance of contempt.

I worship and glorify the offspring of the greatness, the enlightening mind, king (and) Christ: The one who came forth from the outer aeons into the upper creation, and from that to this lower creation; and having incomparably announced his wisdom and the ineffable mysteries to people on earth, and having displayed to the entire universe the way of truth, and having preached with all voices, and having distinguished truth from the lie and light from darkness and good from evil and the just from the wicked. From you every grace has become known to the universe, and life together with truth to every tribe has been interpreted with all voices. He himself has become for living souls the redeemer from the obligation of the inimical bonds.

I worship and glorify the living God, virtuous and true: The one who, by his own power, raised up all things, this arrangement above and below.

I worship and glorify the great luminaries, both the sun and the moon and the virtuous powers in them: Which by wisdom conquer the opponents and enlighten the entire arrangement, and of all observe and judge the world and conduct the victorious souls into the great aeon of light.

(Side II) I worship and glorify the five great lights: Through which the entire universe came into existence, and through which heaven and

earth (and through which (?)) by participation power and beauty and soul and [75] life are present in all. And without these the universe could not exist.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, the living and pure: [80] Who support this whole creation with the permission of the great and virtuous light, who rules over all those (now) singing (these) hymns.

[85] I worship and glorify all the enlightening angels: Who dominate the totality of the universe, and subject all demons and all [90] evil, shielding righteousness and guarding it from the wicked demons and growing the good in it.

[95] I worship and glorify all the righteous: Those who escape from all evil, those who both have existed before, exist now, are coming into existence and are [100] ready to come into existence because they have recognised truth and all preeminence; the chaste and firm, in order that all [105] those whom I have worshipped and glorified and invoked may assist me and bless me with favour and may deliver me from every bond and all constraint and oppression and [110] every reincarnation, and provide me with access to the great aeon of light which all the wise and [115] upright in knowledge hope to attain, where peace and the purest of the good rule, where there is no perception of evil but ambrosia [120] and eternal life are present, where all the inhabitants are without any need and experience neither death nor corruption.

Blessed be he who prays [125] this prayer frequently, or at least on the third day, with a pure heart and forthright speech, asking for [130] forgiveness of sins committed.

The Prayer of the Emanations is ended.

62. Concerning the coming of the soul

This is the second of the so-called 'Psalms of Thomas' (*PsBk2*. 205.10–207.16, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner), a group of psalms found at the end of the Medinet Madi codex. In style, terminology and imagery they are distinct from all the other texts in the collection, even though these also evidence many clear variations in authorial style and purpose. It has been suggested that the group title (ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲙ) may be better understood as 'Psalms of the Twin-Spirit', and that these are songs of the inspired and Paraclete-indwelt Mani himself. This might help to explain some of the power of the poetry and imagery, and also the apparent lack of concern with the doctrinal fixities so noticeable in much of Manichaean church literature. One can also note evident parallels with Mandaic literature, and (in the following example most clearly) with the enigmatic 'Hymn of the Pearl' found embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*.

205 *Concerning the coming of the soul*

They that are not as I am
made themselves like me,
they that are unworthy of me
made me wroth.

The wretches that belong not to the house of my Father:
they rose, they took arms against me,
they rose, they took arms against me,
making war with me, making war with me;
fighting for my holy robe, for my enlightening light,
that it might lighten their darkness;
for my sweet fragrance,
that it might sweeten their foulness;
because of my brethren, the children of the light,
that they might give a peace to their land;
because of my sister, the hour of light,
that she might be a strengthening of their building.
A part therefore went forth from my robe,
it went, it lightened their darkness;
my sweet fragrance went,
it sweetened their stink;
my brethren, the children of the light, went,
they gave a peace to their land;
my sister went, the hour of light,
she was a strengthening of their building.

They take arms against me, making war with me, crying out
against me,
like men going to subdue a camp;
they drew the swords against me,
like men going to kill lions;
they stretched their hands to the bow against me,
like thieves going to attack a man.

206 They did not stir from warring with me until (they had made)
a wall against me,
the weak and paralysed ones continually crept;
they did not stir until they had made a wall against me,
they crept until they had made a wall against me;
they established a watch outside me . . . ,

the bell was made to go round because of me.

My good fortune (came) on my behalf,
the wretches thinking in their heart that I (was)
a man for whom none would seek. I therefore was looking
towards my Father,
that he might send aid;
looking towards my brethren, the children of the light,
that they might come, tracking me;
my Father therefore sent the aid to me;
my brethren arose, they became one with me.

Through a cry only which my brethren uttered,
their wall tottered and fell;
their wall tottered and fell,
their watches were unable to stop them;
nor was he that goes round with the bell and cries good fortune found,
against the cry which my brethren uttered;
the demons ran to the darkness, the demons ran to the darkness,
trembling seized their ruler entirely.

Yet I said to my brethren:
'Suffer me yet this hour';
I was quieting my brethren that they might not destroy their firmament,
for I await my robe until it comes and clothes him that shall wear it;
I will await my enlightening light,
until it strips itself of their darkness;
I will await my pleasant fragrance
until it returns to its place;
I will await my sister, the hour of light,
until she casts their corruption away;
I will await my brethren, the children of the light,
until their stature (?) is completed for them.

When therefore my shining robe comes
and clothes him that shall wear it;
when my pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink
and returns (to its place);

207 when my lightening light
leaves the darkness;
when my brethren, the children of the light,
are complete in their stature;
when my sister, the hour of light,
goes up and sees the land of light:
Then I will strike my foot on the earth
and sink their darkness down;
I will smite their heights with my head, and shake their firmament,
and the stars shall fall down like these . . . ;
I will uproot the darkness, and cast it out,
and plant the light in its place;
I will uproot the evil, and cast it out,
and plant the good in its place.

The universe will be full of glory,
the land will be without suspicion;
the entire earth will contain the righteous,
they of the land will dwell in peace;
there being no more rebel from henceforth,
no name of sin can be uttered again.
The rich ones of light will rejoice
on every side without any grief:
That which the living ones took was saved;
they will return again to that which is their own.

63. The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness

This kephalaion is entitled: 'Concerning the Five Storehouses that have poured forth from the Land of Darkness since the beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes' (30.12–34.12). Elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean (and anti-Manichaean) writings that must derive from canonical sources. The overall conception, with its delight in pentads, and a certain attention to what can be termed the psychosymbolism of evil, has a stamp that is unmistakably Mani's. Specific features, such as the 'five trees', appear in other gnostic writings; and may serve to indicate Manichaean influence, rather than vice-versa.

Kephalaion 6 (and compare also 27) evidences some textual development; and probably some corruption in the tradition. The redactor appears unsure of the relationship of the *supreme* King of Darkness (30.33–33.1) to his five warring rulers in the various sub-kingdoms; but tends toward identifying him with the King of Smoke (33.2–4). He is thus to be distinguished from the ruler or King of the

sub-world of Darkness (33.33–34.5). Manichaean writings are also unclear about the relationship of the supreme King to personified Matter, who here appears to be prior to him as his fashioner (31.8–16). These points have been discussed by H.-Ch. Puech (Puech (1951)); who also shows that the parallel passage in the Mandaean *Right Ginza* XII.6 (278–282) is secondary to the *Kephalaia*.

Once again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Five storehouses have arisen since the beginning in the land of darkness! The five elements poured out of them. Also, from the five elements were fashioned the five trees. Again, from the five trees were fashioned the five genera of creatures in each world, male and female. And the five worlds themselves have five kings therein; and five spirits, five bodies, five tastes; in each world, they not resembling one another.

The King of the world of Smoke . . . who came up from the depth of darkness; this is he who is the head of all wickedness, and all malignity. The beginning of the spread of the war occurred through him; all the battles, fights, quarrelling, dangers, destructions, fights, wrestling-contests! That is the one who first made arise danger and war, with his worlds and his powers. Afterwards, also, he waged war with the light. He pitched a battle with the exalted kingdom.

Now regarding the King of Darkness, there are five shapes on him. His head is lion-faced; his hands and feet are demon- and devil-faced; his shoulders are eagle-faced; while his belly is dragon-faced; his tail is fish-faced. These five shapes, the marks of his five worlds, exist on the King of the realms of Darkness.

Now, there are five other properties in him. The first is his darkness. The second is his putridity. The third is his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul. The fifth is his burning, which burns like an iron . . . as if poured out from fire.

There are also three others in him. The first, that his body is hard and very tough, even as she has formed him . . . cruel-hearted; namely Matter, who is the thought of death, the one who sculpted him from the nature of the land of darkness. This is the manner of the body of the ruler of Smoke. He is harder than every iron, copper and steel and lead; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron implement, can . . . him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him . . . strong and hard.

The second, that he wounds and kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation over himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his companions. Again, when it pleases him, he can be manifested over his powers and appear to them; so

that these enchantments nowadays, which people utilise (?) . . . this world, are the mysteries of the King of Darkness. Concerning this, I command you [25] all the time: keep away from the magic arts and enchantments of darkness! For any person who will be taught them, and who does and accomplishes them; at the last, in the place where will be bound the King of the realms of Darkness with his powers; there they will bind that one also, the soul of whoever has lived freely among them and [30] walked in the magic arts of error. Whether it is a man or a woman, this is the sentence given, cut . . . from God's judgement, that whoever will . . . with their King.

32 The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the converse and language of his five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as they address one another; each one of them in his language. Every design [5] they will consider against him; every snare they debate with one another, to bring upon him; he knows them. He can also understand the gesturing they signal between one another. Yet, his powers and his rulers, who are subject to him, can not understand his wordy converse. While all these things [10] are unveiled to him; still their heart is not manifested to him. He knows not their mind nor their thought; he can not ponder their beginning and their end. Rather, he only knows and apprehends what is before his eyes.

Also, another different thing is found in the King of the realms of Darkness. [15] For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs out and walks. When it comes to mind, he withdraws his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled (?) to his companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a great iron ball! He terrifies by his cry, [20] he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his sound; because when he speaks, being like thunder in the clouds, he resembles the . . . of the rocks . . . When he cries out and . . . and calls . . . over his powers; they shall tremble and totter and fall under foot, [25] even as some birds would be . . . the bird . . . and they fall down to the earth. Still, this thing only: he knows not what is far from him, he sees not who is at a distance, nor does he hear him. Rather, whoever is before his face he sees, hearing him and [30] knowing him.

These signs and these evil marks are found in the chief of the demons and fiends, the King of all the mountains of Darkness . . . the one to whom the land of darkness has given birth, begotten in its cruelty, in its wickedness and its wrath . . . **33** more than all his fellow rulers, who are in all his worlds.

Gold is the body of the King of the realms of Darkness. The body of all the powers who belong to the world of Smoke is gold. And also, the taste of its fruits is [5] salty. The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is

this one who reigns today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire universe. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire.

In contrast, the King of the worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the foremost [10] of all the beasts. Copper is his body. Again, the body of all the rulers who belong to Fire is copper. Their taste is the sour taste that is in every form. Also, the spirit of the King, of they that belong to the world of Fire, is this one who reigns in the greater ones and the leaders; who are under [15] the command of the principalities and authorities and the kings of the world. Also a spirit of his is found in these sects that worship fire, as their sacrifices are offered to fire.

Again, the King of the worlds of Wind is eagle-faced. His body is iron. Also, the body of all they who belong to [20] the Wind is iron. Their taste is the sharp taste that is in every form. His spirit is the one of idolatry to the spirits of error who are in every temple, the sites of idols, the sites of statue- and image-worship, the shrines of the error of the world.

[25] For his part, the King of the world of Water is fish-faced. His body is silver. All the other rulers who belong to Water, silver is their body. Also, the taste of their fruit is the sweetness of water, the sweet taste that is in every (form). Again, the spirit of the King, of the rulers of Water, is this one who [30] reigns today in the sects of error; these that dip the baptism of the waters, (setting) their hope and their trust in the baptism of the waters.

Again, the King of the world of Darkness is a dragon. His body is lead and tin. All the other rulers [35] who belong to the world of Darkness, their body is lead and **34** tin. And, also, the taste of their fruits is bitterness. Again, the spirit who reigns in them is the spirit who speaks till today in the soothsayers, giving oracles; in the givers of portents, every type; in they who are possessed; [5] and the other spirits that give oracles, every type.

Concerning this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs, the perfect faithful, the holy elect: Hold your heart close to you, and you stay away from the five enslavements of the five dark spirits. Put [10] behind you the service of their five bodies. Live not in them, that you may break loose their chain and their chastening for ever!

64. The 'three days' and the 'two deaths'

This is kephalaion 39 (102.13–104.20: 'Concerning the Three Days and the Two Deaths'), which surveys the entire history of the divine and its conflict with the

darkness from the viewpoint of eschatological hope. From a Manichaean perspective (as it were!), this is a most suitable place to begin an account of this history. Life in this time and world is but a precursor to the reign of the saints in the new age and the new earth. There the First Man, the victorious son, will be king (compare *Hom.* 41.11-20). However, this too will come to an end; when the hidden Father at lasts reveals his image, and receives the souls and gods back into the heart of the eternal kingdom, from where they have been barred since the beginning of the conflict.

In contrast to this glorious hope, sinners are warned of a second death, eternally separated from life and the divine.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Happen you know, my beloved ones, that there exist three great mighty days in all; and also two great and bitter deaths. When his disciples heard [20] they say to him: Tell us our father, what are these three great days? Or again, what are these two deaths that are bitter?

He speaks to them. The first day is our father, the Man. From the time when the First Man went down to the abyss of darkness [25] and drowned in it; and the Living Spirit was sent, who went and bore him up. After the Man had ascended, the Father of Life and the Great Spirit set things in order, and the worlds above and below.

Furthermore, the glorious Ambassador came and dwelt in the ship of the day. [30] He displayed his glorious image, and he purified the light out of all things. He walked in the heights of the heavens. Till the time when the world will be dissolved, all things destroyed, the great fire released, and the Last Statue ascends. [35] These three deeds were begun on this first day, when they sent the First Man with his five sons.

In contrast, the first death **103** is the darkness that mixed with the five sons of the First Man.

The second day is the time when the fathers of light, who were victorious in the struggle, will sit on their thrones in the new aeon and dwell [5] on the new earth. And they reign in the new aeon till the Father unveils his image above them. The length of the sojourn (?) in the new aeon equals the measure of the first day spent in affliction. They will reign like this and rejoice in the new aeon.

[10] The great third day is the time when the Father will unveil over them his image . . . and he raises them up . . . and he receives them in to his hidden treasury . . . and he gives . . . his soul. He can pour out upon them . . . [15] his ambrosia and his sweet perfume, which takes away all affliction that they have seen with their eyes. . . . fullness and a joy eternal! When his grace would sate them, he gives to them his . . . and they are made anew in them.

Also, he can summon them once more in peace [20] and silence, and perfect their stature in same measure as his first aeons. And he sets each power in its aeon, in its dwelling-place. They will dwell in the new aeon in their aeons! Now, when they dwell in their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, [25] for ever, beyond time.

From then on they will not count that season amongst them; nor the number of the days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for ever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them, from this time on. Rather, he has accomplished (his) unveiling to them . . . he being revealed [30] to them for ever.

These are the three great days, which the Father of Greatness has given number to in the reckoning.

In contrast, the two deaths that I have proclaimed to you are these. **104** The first death is from the time when the light fell to the darkness, and was mixed in with the rulers of darkness; until the time when the light will become pure, and be separated from the darkness in that great fire. The remainder left [5] behind there can build and add to that Last Statue.

Now, the second death is the death in which the souls of sinful men shall die; when they will be stripped of the shining light that illuminates the world. And also they are separated from the living air, from which they receive [10] living breath; and they are deprived of this living soul, which . . . in the world; and they are separated and swept away from this Last Statue . . . and bound on . . . the female will become . . . [15] their torture and their affliction; for their deeds . . . those three places; because they have blasphemed and despised the Holy Spirit since every generation of the world.

These are the two deaths. The first death is temporal; but the second death is eternal. It is the [20] second death!

65. The seven works of the Living Spirit

This is kephalaion 32 (85.19–86.17), which is very typical of the genre with its elaborate taxonomies and numerical sequencing. These would have had catechetical and mnemonic purposes; and the genre can be understood as an evolving, open-ended source and instruction volume for the elect. Here the concern is with the Living Spirit, the Manichaean demiurge. He is the principal god of the second emanation (*creation*), whose tasks connect the first (*descent*) and the third (*redemption*). Therefore, he saves the First Man; defeats the demons who have devoured the living soul; and constructs the universe with the use of their bodies in which there is now both light and darkness. The universe is then held in place by the five sons of the Living Spirit and a multitude of other divine powers.

It is the Living Spirit who first called out the summons to redemption which, joined with the obedience of the First Man, becomes the active will to salvation. Thus it is mixed with the five sons of the Man, the soul.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit has done seven works with his strength.

The first: He brought the First Man up from the contest, the way [25] a pearl is brought up from the sea. The second: He spread about the one who had rebelled, he crucified him in every body. The third: He trampled, piled up, and pierced the essences of death. The fourth: He constructed the ships of light.

The [30] fifth: He evoked his five sons, and distributed them about. They took possession of the zone, they bore up under all the universe's weight. Also, he evoked three living words. He set them upon the three vessels, another one upon the giant. Again, he evoked the summons, that it might be mixed with the five shining [35] men.

86 The sixth: When he had constructed the zone he arose and sent forth a multitude of powers and many angels; so that they would bound the circuit of the zone on every side, until he finished constructing the works. And at the end of all the [5] works he took some of them in to his storehouses, and he appointed others at the watch-posts.

The seventh: At the time when the Ambassador displayed his glorious image, the Living Spirit established many gods and angels. They . . . [10] They took hold of it, that the entire building . . . not . . . one another against the light, which he had . . .

Also another great and glorious work he will enact at the end is the Last Statue, which he will bring up to the aeons of light; and he . . . in, and he takes hold, and he smites . . . , [15] and he builds, and he . . . , and he . . . them.

Blessed is he who knows him in the new aeon, and dwells in that aeon of glory and joy!

66. Mani discusses astrology

This kephalaion (no. 69, 166.31–169.22: 'Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars') is one of a number where astrological teachings are introduced into and reconciled with the Manichaean system. In this instance the framing sequence, i.e. as a discourse of Mani's, is most likely to be an entirely artificial device.

Mani is asked to explain the distribution of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the planetary stars. Since he subscribes to the astral fatalism found throughout gnostic and esoteric systems in late antiquity, he identifies them as evil rulers from the worlds of darkness. However, it is noticeable that this causes a variety of structural

problems for his system, all of which are apparent in this chapter. In Manichaeism the demiurge is one of the light-gods, the Living Spirit; unlike in many of the other dualistic traditions. Thus, it is constantly necessary to explain why evil powers are given a place and a role in the universe. The characteristic pentads of Mani's system, here the five worlds of darkness from which the evil powers originate, cannot be made to fit the distribution of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Perhaps of most interest, Mani is clearly aware that the ruling powers are commonly understood to be the seven and the twelve (as in Mandaeism). However, since for him the sun and moon are divine vessels, he must develop his teaching about the two ascendants. In this chapter there are two obvious attempts to reconcile this matter.

Once more, during one of the times, the apostle is sitting down **167** among the congregation. A disciple stood before him and questioned him. He says to him: We entreat you, our master, that you may recount to us and explain about the twelve signs of the zodiac that are set in the sphere. How are they determined? Or to what place do they belong, [5] according to their essence? Or else again, these five stars that circle in them, from whence are they? Or why has the demiurge appointed them as the authorities and leaders? He is the great constructor who has appointed the entire creation; and he has bound and fixed them on the sphere. Now, we entreat you, our [10] master, that you may satisfy us about these things that are hidden from all mankind.

Then he speaks to that disciple who had questioned him: Whether these twelve signs of the zodiac that are fixed on the sphere, or these five stars that circle upon them; those and these are rulers, all of them, according to their essence. They are all enemies and rivals to [15] each other <one oppresses another, they threaten each other>. They plunder one another by the action of the great craftsman who has formed all the worlds. He has gathered them and bound them on the sphere above, which circles constantly. Now, while it circles and tumbles them, so they shall do everything that they desire, above and below, according to their pleasure. [20] Nevertheless, a guardian is over them, a debt-collector above them; compelling, extorting, and taking what is theirs away from them!

Now, this is how it can rightly be understood. They were seized from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere. Two zodiacal signs were taken per world. Gemini [25] and Sagittarius belong to the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aries and Leo belong to the world of fire. Taurus, Aquarius and Libra belong to the world of wind. Cancer and Virgo and Pisces belong to the world of water. Capricorn [30] and Scorpio belong

to the world of darkness. These are the twelve rulers of depravity, the ones that wickedness shall not . . . For they cause all the evil and . . . in the world, whether in tree or in flesh.

168 And understand also about these five stars, the leaders: from where were they formed? The star of Zeus (Jupiter) was generated from the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aphrodite (Venus) came about from the world of fire. **5** And then Ares (Mars) belongs to the world of wind. Hermes (Mercury) belongs to the world of water. Cronos (Saturn) belongs to the world of darkness.

And also, the two ascendants are counted to fire and desire; the dry and the moist. They are the father and the mother of all these.

10 And also, the sun and the moon, which are counted in with them as a rule <counted to their kind, but why did they count them in with them?> so that they would reign over them. You will discover they subjugate them at every moment.

These seven we have named, the five stars and the two ascendants. They are the doers of wickedness that do every wicked and bad act in every land, the whole of it, above **15** and below, in every creature, in the dry and the moist, in tree and flesh.

Once more I reveal to you about these signs of the zodiac: they are distributed, appointed on four sides, three per angle in these four places. And they are fixed to this revolving sphere. Aries, **20** Leo and Sagittarius, these three belong to a single side.[24] In contrast, Taurus, Capricorn and Virgo, these other three belong to another side. And then Gemini, Libra and Aquarius belong to another side. Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer belong to another corner. Now, they **25** are placed like this, appointed to these four parts, and distributed on the sphere.

So, when the side of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius will be plundered by the guardian who is over it, who extorts from it and the leaders who move upon it; at that instant shall affliction strike **30** all the four-footed creatures below. However, when the side of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn will be plundered; affliction shall **169** at once befall the herbs, together with the vegetables and all the fruits of the trees. Yet again, when the side of Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer will be plundered; scarcity shall befall the waters upon the earth, **5** and drought be from place to place. Conversely, should the side of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius be plundered;

[24] The circle of the zodiac is quartered, with each set of three houses grouped as by an equilateral triangle. Thus Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are not consecutive signs; but rather the first, fifth, and ninth houses.

deformity and stuntedness shall befall the form of mankind from place to place.

Behold now, I have explained to you about these twelve [10] signs of the zodiac: They were fashioned from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere.

Also, I have taught you about the other five, the stars: They too came about from the five worlds of the land of darkness.

I have recounted to you also about the two ascendants: They are set [15] to the mystery of fire and desire. They are the dry and the moist, the father and the mother.

Again, I have revealed to you about the sun and the moon: They are strangers to them. Still, because of the constraint of the arrangement, in that the thing receives light, and as they belong and plunder them; [20] because of this they were counted in with them in relation to the calculation of the number. For, the sun and the moon are from out of the greatness, not belonging to the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

67. The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind

This complex treatise, which is found embedded in the Medinet Madi *Kephalaia of the Teacher* codex (89.18–102.12, entitled 'Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints'), has substantial parallels in other Manichaean literatures.[25] Its concern is to demonstrate the correlation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos of the human body. The prodigious gods and demonic beings who inhabit Mani's worlds are here integrated with the more accessible workings of religious psychology. These insights into the life of the community aid an understanding of the appeal and success of Manichaeism.

(89.21–90.14) A disciple asks Mani a series of questions about the Light Mind, the god who enters into the believer and transforms the old man into the new man. How can this happen, and why does the old man continue to rebel? He also asks Mani about his apostolate.

(90.15–92.8) Mani begins his discussion with the macrocosmos. The universe is constructed in the form of a human. Its life and soul are the five sons of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit are the intellectual qualities, who act as sleepless guardians, each firmly established in its place. The summons and the obedience, that is the active will to salvation personified in Jesus the Youth, become the sixth sons of each. The Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, is the Mind in the universe.

[25] Manichaean texts on the same theme and obviously derived from Mani's original writings in Syriac (*Book of the Giants* ?) can be found in Parthian, Sogdian, Old Turkish and Chinese. On this see especially Sundermann (1992), 13–22. See also Lieu (1998), 59–75. A new edition of the Chinese with Parthian, Sogdian and Old Turkish parallels by Sam Lieu and Gunner Mikkelsen for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* is forthcoming.

(92.9–94.16) The five sons of the Living Spirit each have their appointed watch-districts. Yet, demonic rebellions have occurred in each during the course of cosmic history; and have had to be dealt with by various gods.

(94.17–95.1) Similarly the Light Mind dwells in the human body, and needs to deal with the treachery of sin manifested by the old man who still lies bound within. Mani assures his listeners that despite the recurrence of evil the powers of light know the final victory; and thus always act for the good.

(95.2–10) Mani briefly answers the disciple's question as to how the mighty Light Mind can live in this small fleshly body.

(95.10–97.24) Sin constructed the human body from evil matter. Yet, its soul is divine, being taken from the five sons of the First Man. The five intellectual qualities were bound in the body and overlaid by corresponding evil qualities. This led the soul into error and forgetfulness of its true origin. When the Light Mind comes it frees the divine qualities, binds the evil ones, and imprisons sin. Thus the believer is transformed into a new man.

(97.24–99.17) Nevertheless, sin can rebel and cloud the intellectual qualities, leading the believer once again into error. Mani explains the process by which such a person may gradually come to turn against the true faith, despite the love and support of church leaders and friends.

(99.18–100.17) Mani emphasises to his disciple that he has now explained the workings of the Light Mind in the body, whose role corresponds to that of the watch-keepers in the macrocosmos. By purifying the spiritual intellect the elect can ascend in their hearts to God the Father, and know everything.

(100.19–102.3) Mani now turns to the disciple's final question about his apostolate; and explains how he, although a solitary man against the world, has been victorious over all the kings and earthly powers. Thus he has achieved more than all previous apostles, excepting only Jesus.

(102.4–12) The disciples thank Mani and promise to be strong in their faith.

Once again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the apostle, saying to him: You have told us that the Light Mind is this one who shall come and assume the saints. You said it to us like this: He too is one among the gods . . . [25] . . . many gods are with him. You have also told us: When he enters within the body of the flesh and binds the old man with his five counsels, he sets his five counsels upon him in the five limbs of his body.

So, now, where is he? In that the old man is chained in the body! [30] For I see how rebellions arise there despite his bondage, from time to time.

Also, secondly, I ask you: If then he is a great god, unchanging and immeasurable, how could he come and appear in the smallness of the body?

The third thing I want you to recount to [35] me . . . a holy one is the Mind, and he is pure; . . . the defilement of this body?

90 Fourthly: If truly the Light Mind exists in the saints, why is his likeness not displayed to us, the way that he is?

The fifth thing I want, for you to tell me and explain about your apostolate. [5] Look, it is not clear to me! For they oppress and persecute you in the world.

I entreat you: Can you persuade me about these things that I have asked you?

Then he speaks to that disciple: My entire revelation, which I have unveiled, I have declared to my church. [10] In your presence! This one alone among . . . him.

This disciple says to the apostle: All that you have unveiled you have . . . in our presence. Yet, I wanted to know . . . the Light Mind, the way that he is.

[15] Then the apostle says to him: If I shall repeat . . . to you about these things that you are so set upon, and they become true for you after you are so set upon them, will you understand what you . . . ? On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and live.

[20] Then speaks the apostle to him: All the error, when the enemy of the lights constructed it, he constructed after the likeness of a man. The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. His neck is the nape of the garments. His stomach is the five unfolded ones (?), which are . . . of the garments. [25] His ribs are all the firmaments. His navel is the sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And also, the parts that come from his navel to his hip are . . . that come from the sphere to the corners of the four worlds. His loins are the three earths that are below . . . [30] upon the head of the Porter. His . . . from the . . . to the earth upon which the Porter stood firm. His shins and his feet are . . . and the entire zone that belongs . . . **91** His heart is mankind. His liver is the four-footed animals. His lung is the race of birds that fly in the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the waters. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [5] upon the earth. His outer skin is the wall that . . . which surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His . . . the vessels of the great fire. His . . . of darkness. His gall is the . . . His great intestine is the breadth of the great . . . [10] . . . of the worlds. His veins . . . all the springs and wells. His eyes (?) . . . His feet are his . . .

This is how each of the worlds have been harmonised (?). [15] Five gods are fastened in him. . . . they are his soul and his life . . . man is a sinner . . . the Living Spirit and the Ambassador . . . the five sleepless guardians.

He has . . . [20] the Keeper of Splendour, the mind which is . . . in the world of the mind that is above. He has . . . whole . . . of the powers of heaven that are in . . . of the great King of Honour, who is the thought that exists in

the seventh firmament. He has humbled . . . [25] . . . also of the Adamant of Light, who is the insight . . . he has given . . . because of lust . . . He has also appointed the King of Glory, who is the counsel . . . patience over the three images; that of wind, that of fire, and that of water. He has handed over to him the . . . [30] . . . do evilness. . . . the Porter, who is the consideration . . . the wisdom in the . . . which is below. He has made him . . . the foundation below . . .

92 Furthermore: The Ambassador refined from them five intellectuals of life. Also, the summons and the obedience were situated there. Now, they made six sons of the Living Spirit, together with the six sons of the First Man.

[5] Further: the Ambassador placed in them the great mind; who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man.

Furthermore: Jesus the Youth was set there; who is the image of the living word, of the utterance and the obedience.

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below [10] . . . each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his watch-district, so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district.

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the great mind, in the camp above the prison of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing all the gloom of death. [15] And a treachery came about, and an uprising. The sin aborted, it tangled in with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went . . . in the third firmament that is above the watch-tower . . . the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tangled [20] in with the light. It was detached and came down to that which is dry and that which is moist. It fashioned the trees upon the dry (land); but in the sea it immediately took form and made a great uprising in the sea.

Again, look, see! The great King of Honour, who is [25] the thought, he is in the third firmament.[26] He is made . . . with wrath. And an uprising came about. A treachery and an anger happened in his camp. The watchers of heaven, who came down to the earth in his watch-district, they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts [30] in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries of heaven. An uprising came about, and a destruction, on the earth . . . to it.

The Adamant . . . the fulfilment. He is set firm upon . . . **93** and a treachery came about in his camp; the occasion when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through

[26] Probably an error for the seventh firmament.

them in the world. They fashioned every object of lust upon the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. Also, they persecute the churches. They kill the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamant of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation.

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, who is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the three wheels. A disturbance came about, and an affliction, for they were . . . pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassador displayed his image, the paths closed to their . . . their ascent was impeded by them . . . the wind, the water, and the fire ascend on them.

Once again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates . . . uprising of the abysses below . . . bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened . . . in the foundation below.

On account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour; the Pillar of Glory came forth, as it . . . helper of the Keeper of Splendour. It bore up under all burdens.

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that happened in the watch of the great King of Honour, which is the watchers who came down to earth from the heavens; four angels were called upon about them. They bound the watchers with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). They obliterated their children from upon the earth.

Then again, the abortions descended in the watch of the Adamant and begat Adam and Eve; because of that great treachery which happened, and the mystery of the wickedness, he sent Jesus . . . the prayer of the five sons. He assumed them . . . the abortions. He fastened them beneath the . . . the mind of Adam.

94 Also, because of the earthquake that happened in these three earths, and in that the paths were hindered and the springs of wind and water and fire were impeded, Jesus cast himself down. He assumed Eve; and he straightened the tracks of the wind, the water, and the fire. He opened the springs for them, and he set in order the path of their ascent.

Once again: Since the earth beneath the Porter was loosened from the fastenings that . . . because of this too Jesus went down, assuming Eve until he reached that place. He set in order and strengthened the fastenings beneath. He returned, he came up to his . . . rest.

Then speaks the apostle to him: Look at all these watches of the zone, the ones in which these great gods are master, watching over them . . . Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The . . . . . in them from time to time; with a great humiliation, until they humbled the powers of the enmity.

So also is this body! A mighty power lives here, even if it is small in its stature. Nevertheless, sin dwells within, and the old man who is lodged in it. Certainly he is cruel, [20] with great cunning; until the Light Mind finds how to humble this body, and drive it according to his pleasure.

Just so, in the watch-districts of his great outer brothers, they who are masters in the zone. In them, in the great body: the earthquake and treachery happened [25] from time to time. So, also, is the watch-district of the Mind, which is the body of the flesh. Sin raises up, from time to time, its agitations in the body.

Now you, understand thus, that the powers of light are good. The beginning and the end are unveiled to them. [30] All that they do is being done with correct judgement. Indeed, because of this they may permit the enmity to initiate error, and do its pleasure for a moment. Then they seize . . . **95** . . . they have acted first with a righteous judgement.

And with respect to this other (question) that you have put forward: How may the Light Mind come, this great and honoured mighty one, and assume this little body of the flesh? Again, look, see! These gods, in that [5] . . . are great and mighty ones. And each one of them is enclosed and hard pressed in this place wherein he is set; like trees holding to their taproot. So also this is how each one of them has 'held to his taproot' in the world, according to the kind of place in which he is set, bearing up till [10] . . .

Now, also, happen you know . . . the world is set firm, being ordered . . . the five sons of the Living Spirit in all its members . . . sin took this body out from the land (?) . . . constructed it in its members. It took its body [15] from the five bodies of darkness. (Sin) constructed the body. Yet, its soul it took from the five shining gods. (Sin) bound (the soul) in the five members of the body. It bound the mind in bone; the thought in sinew; the insight in vein; the counsel in flesh; the consideration in skin.

(Sin) set fast [20] its five powers: its mind upon the mind of the soul; its thought upon the thought of the soul; its insight upon the insight of the soul; its counsel upon the counsel of the soul; its consideration upon the consideration of the soul. It placed its five angels and authorities upon the five members [25] of the soul, which it had brought in and bound in the flesh. They . . . , pronouncing to the soul and continually leading it on to every evil thing, to all the sins of lust, to the worship of idols, to erroneous opinions, to humiliation; in the humiliation of slavery! As it is set fast, worshipping [30] the things that . . . will not remain; making obeisance . . . idols of wood and gold and silver. . . . worshipping beasts **96** that are unclean and polluted! They are ugly in their appearances and their forms.

(The soul) assumed error and forgetfulness. It forgot its essence and its race and its kindred; knowing not the door of the place to pray to him, nor call up [5] to him. It became hostile to its father . . . itself, being wicked . . . its own light . . .

The Light Mind comes and finds the soul . . . it assuming it in the . . . [10] . . . its wisdom . . . he shall become for it . . . the bonds . . . members in the body. He shall loosen the mind of the soul and release it from the bone. He shall release the thought of the soul [15] from the sinew; and so bind the thought of the sin in the sinew. He shall release the insight of the soul from the vein; and so bind the insight of the sin in the vein. He shall loosen the counsel of the soul, and release it from the flesh; and so bind the counsel of the sin in the flesh. He shall [20] release the consideration of the soul from the skin; and bind the consideration of the sin in the skin.

This is how he shall release the members of the soul, and make them free from the five members of sin. Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; [25] he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness. And when he fashions and constructs and purifies the new man; then he shall bring forth five great living members out from the five great members. [30] And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his mind, which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the thought, which is faith, he shall place in the thought of the new man; whom he shall purify. His insight, which is perfection, he shall place **97** in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which is patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, wisdom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new man. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of [5] sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his . . . becomes nourisher and strengthener . . .

Now, when he shall perfect . . . the twelve members. This is how . . . and his wisdom. His . . . [10] . . . becomes righteous, as he perfects . . . While formerly he was running . . . but instead of this, now he runs . . . his road and his path and his . . . also he mounts up to the heights, to the great aeons . . . [15] . . . thus the old man is bound in the . . . and his lust, his . . . his foolishness in these five members of the body . . . the dark spirit is imprisoned with them in a bond and in severe misery.

Also, the new man reigns [20] by his love, by his faith, by his perfection, by his patience, and by his wisdom. Yet, his king . . . the Light Mind, he who is king over the totality. He reigns over it according to his pleasure. While the members . . . , thus sin is imprisoned. Still, the Light Mind [25] is king, and an affliction may arise in the body from time to time.

There are occasions when sin shall mount up with its foolishness; and it disturbs the consideration, and it clouds the wisdom and the understanding of the person. It causes truth to be split into doubt in him, and he utters some foolish words [30] and some . . . When the manner of his foolishness will come to the . . . in the church, the teachers and the . . . and the . . . and the presbyters shall gather . . . helper. And they put straight his wisdom . . . His consideration has been set right **98** about this. His wisdom has been set in its right place and ordered . . . well.

Now, if he shall not accept the rebuke and the edification of his brethren and his helpers; then shall sin mount up again, another time, from the consideration to [5] the counsel. It takes his patience from him, and bestows upon him faint-heartedness and hurt. And the sin is displayed in the midst of his brethren. His . . . for every thing that he shall do . . . advice of his brethren, and he becomes . . . [10] the foolishness. A battle and a war shall arise (between) the Light Mind and the sin in the counsel . . . they shall group together and become . . . there, and they cause him to cease from the . . . and they put him straight in his place another time . . . his [15] companions in his struggle.

If again the . . . to that place, then again sin shall rise . . . and clothe him with lust and vanity and pride. He separates from his teacher and his brethren. He shall always want to go in and to come out alone. [20] He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man. He shall always want to walk alone. Indeed, this is the sign that the familiarity of his brethren does not act on him.

Should he again not . . . his heart from lust; again sin shall mount up, the thought of death, to his thought. He shall . . . [25] a vanity; and causes his faith and his truth to leave him. When the sign of his foolishness will be displayed, and his reputation spreads in the church, the wise ones of the church shall gather to him; so that they may set right his heart, and encourage it with God's edification. If now he took the [30] advice of his brethren, and listened to . . . and set himself apart from his wrath and . . . **99** It is possible he could live and be victorious over the sin, and all its wars.

Yet, if he shall not make this watch secure, (sin) shall rise up and assume his mind; and disturb his mind, which formerly was calm. It shall disrupt his love, away from his teacher and his [5] instructor. It shall take from his heart love of the church, and fill it full of hatred. And all his brethren become hateful before him. His brethren and his loved ones and his friends who love him; they shall be like enemies before him. Now, that person is disturbed like this, and he lets his [10] love and his will turn from him. That person shall himself become a vessel of loss, and he separates from the church,

and his end comes down to the world. The Mind, who was in him, shall disperse from him and go to the apostle who sent him. He shall be filled by evil spirits; [15] and they deal with him, dragging him hither and thither. And he himself becomes like wordly men. He will change and become as if a bird, were its feathers plucked out. He becomes an earthly man.

Then have I taught you, and opened your eyes, as to how confusion shall arise in the zone; in the camps of [20] these great mighty gods? Again, this is how disturbance shall come about, from time to time, in the . . . of the Light Mind. So also these watch-keepers, for they are set . . . firm in the zone, (but) they are not visible. Again, this too is the way of the Light Mind, for he is not visible in the body.

[25] Also, corresponding to these outer watch-keepers; in that while they are great; yet have they contorted themselves. They have . . . , they have become small, to the measure of the task which is apportioned to each one of them. Again, this too is like the Mind, himself a great one, and exalted; but he is bent over and has become small, to this little worthless body.

[30] Even so the gods in the outer zone: they are transcendent and purified, they are set fast in the mingling of the totality, (but) are not defiled. This too is like the Light Mind. While he is placed in his . . .

100 Again, behold the mightiness and the activity of the Light Mind: how vast he is over all the watch-districts of the body! He stays fast at his camp. He shuts off all deliberations of the body from the beguilements of sin. [5] He limits them and distributes them out. He sets them down at his pleasure.

Also, he does another work, surpassing and exceeding (these). He bestows a great spirit upon the elect one. Indeed, now may you find him, as he stands on the earth, rising up in his heart and ascending to the Father, the [10] God of truth. He who exists and is established above all the things of loss. Once again, he may push down in his insight and his consideration, and descend to the land of darkness, from where the darkness has poured forth. His heart shall run and touch everything, as it . . .

[15] Then he says to that disciple: I have taught you the deeds of the Light Mind! Whoever has an open and perceptive eye, he can appear to him. Whoever has not that eye, he can not appear to him.

And, also, as to my work that is not manifest nor revealed to you, [20] the deeds that I have done; I will teach you about them, and open your eyes to this wonder . . . and of my leadership.

Observe from this! That I, a single Manichaios, I have come to the world alone. And the races and kindreds of the body, [25] and the gold and silver and brass . . . copper, and the many gifts and breastplates and

armour of the multitude, and much humanity, submit to me. Many types of gods and idols from smelting furnaces! You have beheld the kingdom of the world. For, despite great effort, [30] even with many benefits and gifts, with a breastplate and a violent war; they have not subdued the cities nor conquered the countries. Yet, I, I have conquered without breastplate and without armour **101** distant cities by the word of God, and distant countries. And they bless my name, and it is glorified in all countries.

Understand also another thing that I will teach you. The kings have striven with me, and the nobles and [5] officials and their powers, so that they might bring to nothing this truth. They did not have the strength for this against me. Now, if I am alone, why did they not have power against me? Namely, all these who have striven with me.

The third thing: No one in the world has given freedom to his children and [10] his brothers and his kin, and made them free from the variance of all things, the way I have. I who have made all my children free from every toil and every . . .

The fourth thing: I have covered them with the breastplate of wisdom; so that you will not find a single one among mankind [15] . . . and he is victorious over them. For as no single person is able to be victorious over me in the entire world; so it is also like this for my children. No person will be able to be victorious over them!

The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire great election. I have given my children my emblems of authority . . . [20] and the great springs of wisdom, so that . . . apostle . . . of the church . . . I have made it mine. I have made my church strong, and appointed in it all good things that are beneficial to it in every matter. I have planted the good, I have sown the truth in every land, [25] far and near. Apostles and ambassadors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apostles who came before them did not do as I have done in this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of greatness, who is the father of all the apostles. [30] So, all of the apostles have not done as I, I have done! Look again, and see now: How great is my power and my activity? For not one among the former apostles, . . . in the flesh has reached my like in the . . . through me. For this great **102** door has been opened, opened by me, to the gods and the angels and mankind, and all the spirits and the living souls, who are prepared for life and eternal rest.

Then, after his disciples had heard all these sayings, which he [5] proclaimed, his disciples answered. They say to him: Great and mighty are all these things that you have uttered to us; which you have done by your power, and the power of the one who sent you. Who could fully recompense

you for the grace that you have done us, except this one who sent you? Still, the only gift [10] available to us, to repay you, is this: that we will make ourselves strong in your faith; and persevere in your commandments; and also be persuaded of your word, which you have proclaimed to us.

68. The descent of Jesus

This kephalaion (no. 8, 36.27–37.27: 'Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded') evidences the total integration and subsumation of Jesus into the Manichaean system, with the consequent striking presentations of traditional themes (here the incarnation). The fourteen vehicles correspond to the stations through which Jesus passes as he descends deeper into matter for the purpose of salvation; and to the divine elements that he assumes and thus sanctifies in this *descent*. The listing of the ten 'carriages in the zone' reverses an order most familiar in accounts of the *ascent* of the light elements, the qualities of the living soul, as they pass through the redemptive process of summons and obedience, and finally ascend perfected from the Pillar to the moon and thence the sun.

[30] Once again, the light-man speaks to the congregation that is sitting in front of him: When Jesus the son of greatness came to these worlds, at the time that he unveiled the greatness, he boarded ten vehicles! He journeyed in the universe by them.

The first vehicle is the light ship, since [35] he received instructions from the Ambassador there. **37** The second carriage is the ship of the First Man, since his dwelling is established there. The third is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, since he shone forth there. He came below, he appeared in the world. [5] The fourth is the summons that he clothed upon his body. The fifth is the obedience that he swathed upon the summons. The sixth is the living air, and since he assumed it too, he received anointment there. The seventh is the living wind that blows. The eighth [10] is the light that illuminates. The ninth is the living water. The tenth is the living fire that is above them all. He was journeying in these ten carriages among all the orders and all the . . . , those above and those below.

After he had assumed these ten, he came and manifested in the [15] flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehicles. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechumens, the daughters of the light and truth.

These ten carriages [20] that he boarded in the zone, and the other four that are in the flesh; they complete and make fourteen carriages! He has done in them the pleasure of his Father. He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to these who are his. Conversely, he has killed, bound,

and destroyed they who are strangers to him. He has given glory to the Father who sent him, **25** and the entire kingdom of life. Blessed is he who will know these mysteries; for he will count to the portion of Jesus, the son of greatness.

69. Augustine on Manichaean Christology

Aug., *c. Faust.* XX.2, 536.9–24 and XX.11, 550.14–19; trans. S. Llewelyn and S. Lieu.

(Faustus says:) 'Therefore, we worship one and the same deity under a tripartite name of Father, even God omnipotent, Christ his son, and the Holy Spirit. Yet we believe that the Father indeed inhabits the highest and first light which Paul otherwise calls inaccessible; that the Son in truth dwells in this second and visible light. Seeing that he is himself also two, as the apostle recognised saying that Christ is the virtue and wisdom of God, we believe his virtue dwells in the sun, but his wisdom in the moon. And also we confess this whole circle of atmosphere to be the seat and lodging of the Holy Spirit which is the third power. From its strength and spiritual libation the earth conceives and begets the suffering Jesus, who is the life and salvation of men, hung from the tree for everyone. Also, for this reason religious observance is for us almost universal and similarly for you equal towards food and utensil, though you detest most strongly the makers of them. This is our belief . . .'

(Augustine says:) 'Again, tell us how many Christs you say there are. Is there one whom you call the suffering one whom the earth conceives and brings forth by the power of the Holy Spirit, he who is not only suspended from every tree, but also reclining on the grass; and another crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate; and a third who is divided between the sun and the moon?'

70. A psalm by Herakleides

We have placed this psalm (*PsBk2.* 187.2–36, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) here with other Christological material because it is an account, one might say, of the 'risen Christ'; except, of course, that Jesus did not die on the cross. The Manichaeans subverted the narrative of the passion, utilising powerful prior traditions[27] to present a deeper and truer meaning of its mystery.

[27] Note here in lines 24–9 use of the *Ev. Thom.* logion 38; see also *ActJoh* c. 98. Cf. Richter (1992) esp. 257–8.

187 Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not touch me.
(Stem) the tears of your eyes and know me that I am your master:
Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father.

Your god was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of your littleness:
Your god did not die, rather he mastered death.
I am not the gardener. I have given, I have received the . . . , I appeared (not) to you:
Until I saw your tears and your grief . . . for me.

Cast this sadness away from you and do this service:
Be a messenger for me to these wandering orphans.
Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the eleven:
You shall find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.

The traitor persuaded them to be fishermen as they were at first,
and to lay down their nets with which they caught men unto life.

Say to them, 'Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you.'
If they scorn my brotherhood, say to them, 'It is your master.'
If they disregard my mastership, say to them, 'It is your Lord.'
Use all skill and advice until you have brought the sheep to the shepherd.

If you see that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto you:
Say to him, 'Remember what I uttered between you and me.'
'Remember what I said between you and me in the Mount of Olives:
"I have something to say, I have none to whom to say it." '

Rabbi, my master, I will serve your commandment in the joy of my whole heart.
I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes,
I will not give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.

Glory to Mariam, because she listened to her master:
She served his commandment in the joy of her whole heart.
(Glory and) victory to the soul of the blessed Maria.

71. The great war and the last judgement

The 'Sermon of the Great War' (*Hom.* 7.8–42.8) must be dated to the first generations after the death of Mani, because (amongst other telling reasons) it is ascribed

to the apostle's disciple Koustaios. It reveals a powerful apocalyptic vision of the community in suffering, but looking forward to their forthcoming vindication over the forces of evil. The end times are already breaking in upon history. For the historian of religion, and in terms of understanding Manichaean identity, the mix of Judaeo-Christian and Iranian themes, fashioned by Mani's own particular genius into something unique, provides many clues.

We present here a much abbreviated text[28] in translation (by Iain Gardner), focusing on the final passages: the last judgement, the collapse of the cosmos, and the final return to the Father.

(7.8–8.30) *The Sermon of the Great War:*

Let us venerate our good father, and (glorify **10** our) redeemer! For he has unveiled every thing: He has taught us about every matter, and spread them before (us. He gave) us the knowledge of the beginning, he taught us the (mysteries) of the middle, and also the separation of the end, . . . and the annihilation of the worlds, which is prepared for **15** the bodies and the spirits.

Our father, our apostle, did not abandon us in want. Indeed, whilst in our midst he was giving us help, supporting us greatly; also, on the day of his coming forth, he bequeathed his good to the orphans and the widows. He has also taught **20** us to praise him, to give glory . . . the lessons of truth. He has proclaimed to (us . . .) children . . . the world. The creation, the battles **25** . . . the beaker of wrath which is prepared for the great inhabited world. A bloody chalice and a beaker of . . . slaughter which is prepared for the worlds. . . . kingdom which is prepared for this land beneath . . . the nobles, the free, the slaves, **30** what is evil and what is good . . . in it . . . **8** for ever.

Many have testified to (the great war). All the apostles have proclaimed it. The prophets preached about it. Its fame is spread in the entire world. Further, its origin is with all the sects. **5** (Many) years and human generations ago they began to prepare . . . it in the heights. Now a great . . . Its sound will rise to heaven. (Now) is coming a time of trial, which can put to the proof they who are (evil and they who are) good; it is coming to the inhabited world and **10** . . . to Babylon and all its children. Annihilation is coming to flesh, as destruction is coming . . . , as despoliation is coming upon possessions, as war is being waged on the kings, as . . . wrath. The

[28] The *editio princeps* was published by H. J. Polotsky in 1934 (Polotsky (1934b)), and a facsimile edition by S. Giversen in 1986. A major study of the work was published by Nils Arne Pedersen (Pedersen 1996), who is also soon to publish a revised edition of the entire codex for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*. Gardner has had the advantage of viewing a draft of this latter revision; and, although this translation was based on Polotsky's Coptic text, some readings are influenced by Pedersen to our certain benefit.

sword may be drawn in an [15] instant: retribution comes on retribution, a thousand are coming to reap the grain. The evil-doer: he can receive his retribution. While the world will remain on fire, all the cities will persist in turmoil. Their inhabitants will take up arms. The earth that they dwell upon: their blood [20] can flow over it. The sun which shines upon them every day: it can shine upon their corpses. (All) the free will mourn; the free and the slaves . . .

The trumpet will sound! . . . the battle . . . [25] . . . slays and he smites and he does not spare at all. On that day they are crushed (?) . . . like flocks of sheep if wolves will (fall) upon them, and they scatter out from their gathering. [30] A lion upon a herd of calves.

(9.19–27) [20] That day of fear, this time of trial which is coming to everyone: See then, that day comes and can speak no lie in its coming. See, its very . . . is imminent. They that have passed by are more than they that remain. Year by year, that time [25] comes, to give retribution . . . It comes like these . . . ; it may be like a trap, like lightening . . . the night.

(14.16–31) All the apostles have suffered, weeping, and their churches in each generation; for they were despised and crucified, they struck them in every city. They poured their blood out [20] upon the earth. The wild beasts have eaten their flesh. The bones have remained in the wilderness, like some robbers, as if they had done evil. They passed their life, made righteous men of light; and the world has repaid them evil. They did not indulge in its "good things", nor also did they revel in its [25] pleasures. They spent their time there hungering and (thirsting); and it turned its back to them. It has given evil repayment to them. Every (thing), if God has appointed to make it happen, . . . the (powers of) the world do it not.

Therefore, all the apostles have wept. They proclaimed . . . [30] this battle book after book: from Adam . . . till today. Its hour has not yet . . .

Then follows the account of the terrible war (omitted here), followed by the renewal of the church:

(27.28–29.18) Henceforward, from the war on, the church will not be weak. From (that time the) [30] melody of the psalms comes forth . . . in each city. The catechumens (will find) strength to give alms the more . . . you may find the catechumens as they . . . **28** the commandments of the election. The church will not be moved, being constant; so that some among us might be found at that time even until the antichrist. My lord says: [5] some

might behold him among they of this human generation;[29] – of we, who have looked on my lord Mannichaios![30] Therefore, the new generation is come, and it is decided upon its good. They will find the brilliance (?) of his mysteries in the wisdom of my lord Mannichaios and his **10** church. They will come and find the scriptures are written, and the books are adorned. They will find the table and they that prepare it. They will find the churches . . . , they will find all these things after the war. Indeed, the church will not be hindered from this time; **15** from now till the day of Jesus, and until all (flesh (?)) is worn out.

The Gospel and *The Picture(-Book)* and the possessions, which the church has fashioned . . . of the holy ones which it has built, and the possessions which it has left in the world: These **20** . . . will come and find them. They did not . . . them. The scriptures of the apostle (of the light), they will give honour to them by their . . . they being honoured by their mouths, like these . . . will set them upon the judgement seat . . . **25** . . . venerate their name. Also, the body (of the apostle of) the light: A great mourning (will come about) because of it. At the hour when they will . . . in each land. They will mourn . . . of the apostle of the light. . . . **30** . . . that may find him at that time. . . . which were prepared today, being . . . this last. For, behold, the path of . . .

29 They have distributed the gifts, they have . . . among the friends of love. Behold the sects: they have been smitten, they have been destroyed! Behold the alms: it has been apportioned amongst they who gave it. Behold the spring of water: they have dug it down, they have (planted) **5** the good tree upon it. Behold the battle-standard: they have unfurled it! Behold the sword that can slay the lust. Behold the tribunal of the truth: they have prepared it. Behold the two ways: they have been separated.

This work the apostle of the light did in the land of the . . . **10** of Babylon, in the years of the kingdom of Persia. This truth was unveiled in the world. My lord says to us also, 'After the great war, until the days of Jesus the redeemer: Every thing I have written and set it down, I have made necessary **15** for my children until they do it. At that occasion they will perfect all the commandments, the small ones and the great, just as it is written. Love will dwell in all their hearts.'

Here follows one of the most important and continuous accounts (despite the lacunae) of the last things: the return of Jesus, the last judgement, the destruction of the universe and absolute containment of evil, the new aeon and the return to the Father.

[29] Cf. Mark 13.30. [30] On this spelling, see the comments of Augustine in **59**, *supra*; also **46**.

(35.11–42.8) . . . the advent of this glorious one . . . is likened to what? At that time . . . a great . . . [15] which is among them, for . . . outwards . . . the city. This is the way that the heavens and the . . . will resound and reverberate . . . all of them . . . the abysses below . . . [20] all the ones that are purified . . . of righteousness . . . the glory which can become great . . . that great . . . The judge of the truth, who may unveil . . . [25] . . . the king of the virgins . . . he can reveal . . . to give judgement . . . to judge the peoples, to justify his church. He is coming to separate out the goats, and set them apart from his sheep. He might be like the head of the . . . [30] . . . and weak ones . . . **36** . . . and he . . . the moon.

. . . [5] . . . as they walk . . . the diadems of honour . . . him, they who sound the trumpets of the truth; . . . flute, sounding them before him. They will beat [10] the glorious kettle-drum, and its reverberation will be heard in every world! They will gather the worlds before him, like a flock of sheep before the shepherd. Masses upon masses (will come), making rows; and they bow at his feet, worshipping in front of him. The angels [15] . . . will receive authority and gather all flesh before him. Every race and every language will glorify him, all of them at one time. Every "mixed" god,[31] the (bound (?)) and the loosened, they will all bless the (king (?)) who is sweet. Every purified and holy god, they will [20] . . . his power and his happiness . . . [25] . . . all languages, the laws and the sects. They will worship him, making supplication before him. His virgins and his continent ones: They will open their mouths . . . [30] his glory.

He will come down and prepare his judgement seat in the midst of the great inhabited world . . . **37** . . . idol . . . of this world . . . stand fast . . . god . . . [5] . . . set firm . . . catechumens . . . they have served his church . . . in his . . . [10] . . . on his left side . . . the sentence which is coming forth from his mouth. . . . then the great shining one will open his mouth and he . . . [15] the great and blessed king of kings. By his sweet blessed mouth he can proclaim his glorious word. And by the sound of his living word all the languages will understand that he is . . . each country and language. They will . . . [20] the interpretation of his words. And in front of his . . . his throne.

There are four kindreds . . . One is that of the kings and the nobles . . . the races of the entire world; the idol-worshippers . . . the kindreds . . . [25] . . . One are all the sects . . . of all the worlds . . . the elect and the catechumens (?) . . .

38 . . . you gave me food . . . Then, they to the right side . . . be astonished, for the one that [5] . . . thirst . . . freely, and they say (to him: On which)

[31] I.e the divine conjoined to matter.

day (did we see you), our Lord? (. . . Then he) may say to them: Whatever you have . . . **10** . . . because of my name, because of . . . you have served me.[32] Also, I . . . who are to his right side, he can justify and (give to them) the victory; who are the catechumens . . . they whom he has summoned to the kingdom of the light. **15** And his righteous ones and his virgins he has made like the angels. On the other hand, the goats, who are to his left side, will see the confidence that he has given the ones to the right side. Their heart will rejoice for a moment, as they think that the victory of the sheep will come to them too! Then he will **20** (turn to the) ones on the left side, and he speaks and he says to them: . . . me, they who are cursed. Go to the fire, the devil and his powers! In that I was hungry and thirsted . . . not one of you did help (me . . .) they that are (to the) right . . . **25** . . . They will answer and say: (On which day) did we see (you), our Lord?[33] . . . these . . .

39 . . . in every world . . . the earth; the gods, the angels who have come with him; the gods, the angels and the elect being mingled and partaking in the glory . . . **5** will smite the sin and sweep it away, with (every) wicked thing in the universe. Then the trees will open (their mouths) and speak; for indeed there is no persecutor in the . . . , for she acted ill against the truth. The catechumens . . . Therefore, this king of the light . . . **10** . . . he being revealed . . . look on him with the eyes of the body, like . . . today. They will look on him . . . the image of the light; as they all are glad, (rejoicing) over him. The lust will be removed from them, and also the (other) **15** sorts of temptation. When they wish, they will be stripped of their body, and receive the victory from him. (And they find) the path, it being made smooth from him upwards to the kingdom of life. Then he may reign in the midst of his chosen ones for a great time. And after these things he rises up to **20** his gods and his angels. His . . . will follow after him.

Then, after Jesus, the obliteration of the universe . . . him. Flesh will wear away, little by little, and be wiped out from the universe. Until the . . . **25** flesh wears away and perishes and all . . . is purified to the heights. The universe . . . and it remains, made waste . . . and it remains like this for a great age . . . entire, from the great to the . . . **30** . . . only the earth, which is set firm . . . , and the trees which are verdant, and the . . . which are shining, as they are drawn there and are . . .

Then, after the age of its wasting . . . they who have built it will make a sign to their . . . **35** . . . the fire . . . **40** . . . the prisoners of war come out from it, and they . . . the free women who . . . to their kingdom, the one that the First Man . . . will unveil his face and draw his sons to him. **5** . . . the

[32] Cf. Matt. 25:37–40. [33] Cf. Matt. 25:41–45.

Living Spirit. They will stretch out the Porter, that he can ascend and rise upwards and . . . great house of his father; that he can cast his . . . the rest comes to be. Then the Keeper of Splendour will stay his hand, and the first of the garments [10] . . . the King of Honour will . . . the King of Glory will proceed . . . can rise up to the heights. They will make a sign . . . all of you arise! The Adamas . . . who watches over his brethren, will proceed to the heights. [15] All the . . . will be redeemed, and they go forth from every . . . of the universe; the ones outside of it and the ones within it. The one who carries the weight, and they who . . . all the free will be released. . . . of the light.

There are some among them . . . [20] . . . to the light. There are also some . . . Again, there are some who may remain in this place . . . out like this . . . The sphere will sink down below by its weight . . . below will sink down. The three pits . . . [25] . . . the earth. Its destruction will come about . . . **41** . . . [5] all of it, which this fire has burnt. He can . . . new . . . He can confine the darkness in to the grave, its maleness and its femaleness. He can cover . . . it, and he obliterates the sinners . . . , as he . . . ; [10] but (they are (?)) different from the . . . in it.

Also, after these things the aeons (. . . the Father of) Greatness. He can give to them what they (beseech of him). He can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he (sent) to the contest with the darkness. The veils will be rolled back and gathered, [15] and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory . . . king, in the two kingdoms. On the one hand: the King of the aeons of the light, he is the Father, the Light King . . . [20] On the other hand: the king of the new aeon is the First Man . . . and the (Last) Statue . . . and the apostles and the . . . sabbath will count to the . . . king will count to the lord's day; in that . . . [25] . . . alone for ever . . . for ever and ever . . .

42 . . . [5] . . . our father, all they who sit . . . today, as they watch over this mourning and this fasting.

It has been completed, namely the Sermon of the Great War.

72. Four recently edited Kephalaia

For many decades the publication of the Coptic Medinet Madi codices was halted, and as regards *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* it had ended in the midst of kephalaion 122. However, in 1999, just as this present volume was being collated, publication resumed under the charge of Wolf-Peter Funk. Here we have selected four short passages, and provide a first English translation (by Iain Gardner).

Kephalaion 126 'Concerning Jesus, the Virgin and the Light Mind' (302.17–303.15).

20 Once again the apostle speaks: Jesus Splendour and the Virgin and the Light Mind and the great Mind, it is these three[34] who have been revealed in this world, the ones that are made apparent through all the apostles and the fathers of the good in each generation; and they have revealed **25** the mysteries in the world.

Indeed, Jesus Splendour, he who came and was revealed in the world: They crucified him through the enemy, against whom he stood firm. This occurred (corresponding) to the mystery of the First Man, he who came at the beginning against the enemy; while he has his **30** holy body, which is his sons, . . .

For her part, the Virgin of Light, she who . . . and continues purifying the life, while she . . . the mystery **303** of the Great Spirit, the Mother of Life, she who[35] . . . set up all things . . .

For his part, the Light Mind . . . church, and plants . . . **5** . . . signifying the mystery of the Living Spirit; he who set in order and constructed all . . . that are below, he set them . . .

Now, like these three great fathers: the First Man and the Great Spirit, who is the Mother of Life, **10** and the Living Spirit; indeed, like the champions who have done the will of the greatness for which they were sent; again, this is just like Jesus Splendour and the Light Virgin and the Great Mind.

Behold, . . . and they perfect their work, to go **15** up and rest themselves in the heights.

Kephalaion 136 'Concerning the birth of the two men: the new man and the old man; how they are born . . .' (337.10–338.18)

Once again the apostle speaks: Two births occur, **15** not resembling one another!

The first birth is of the flesh; the second is the birth of the spirit. When the person shall be born in the flesh, there shall be need of a care-taker, a nourisher.[36] This one, the one who will nourish . . . **20** . . . However, if he should not add to him a good nourisher, to make him well fed . . . come from the life of people.

[34] The duplication of the figure of the Mind may be supposed a textual corruption.
[35] Funk's text should be slightly emended to provide this evident meaning.
[36] The construction of the Coptic text is most unclear, and has probably been corrupted; but this translation represents what we regard as the evident meaning.

The second is the birth of the spirit. Whenever one shall be born . . . in the birth of the spirit, if then he finds a **25** care-taker and a useful nourisher, then he can . . . and he lives in the life . . . do goodness . . . out from his body . . . receive . . . **338** . . . new man.[37]

However, if he should not find . . . a veritable[38] teacher and a true nourisher . . . him, the ones that do not walk in . . . **5** . . . as through the transmigration above . . . he may receive a beneficial (?) judgement and shall not find rest . . . and he ascends for a great period.

On this account, blessed is every person who gives his attention to a true and perfect teacher, walking on the path of righteousness; and **10** at no time shall he set aside his habit. He receives teaching from him towards his righteousness and his godliness, so that he might find eternal life; and also flee from the evil, wicked teacher . . . gives an evil teaching, and he does signs . . . wickedness, and he falls into duplicity **15** . . . drives him to foolishness and he falls into . . . and laxities. They who achieve the requital of the suffering . . . which is suffered, are the ones who shall receive a great crown.

Kephalaion 138 'Who is the one who sins, and afterwards he makes repentance?' (340.20–341.24)

Once again one among the disciples stood up . . . questioning the apostle. He says to him, 'I (entreat) **25** you, my master, that you might tell me: Who (is this one) who shall sin and afterwards beseech absolution? Or, this one who shall receive teaching and (afterwards) is forgetful? Or, who is the (good) teacher? I ask you that you might open my eyes . . . '

30 The apostle says to him, '(I am the one who can instruct you in) **341** the lessons about which you have questioned me. This one that shall sin is no other than this living soul, the one that (indwells) the body of sin; because it is set (in) mixture. Another one: the old man dwells with it in (the body). **5** It shall cause (the soul) to stumble, as it makes it do (what is) not (right) for it. However, when it may make it sin, the Mind shall immediately give for (the soul) the remembrance of its sin that it has done. And in the remembrance of the Mind it shall shake off the sin and beseech the Light Mind **10** for absolution, and its sin is forgiven it.

Again, the one that shall receive teaching and be forgetful: It is the soul, the one that shall receive teaching from the Light Mind. The one that

[37] This must surely be the meaning of the text, although it is difficult to reconcile with the traces recorded by Funk. In any case, the general sense is clear. Since line 337.22 Mani has been discussing someone who is born in the spirit. Such a person must find the right nourishment in order to grow and become established in the "new man". Now, from line 338, 1 he will explain what happens if this does not occur.

[38] We suggest that one might read here ἀληθής.

gives it teaching shall give it the remembrance of its first essence; and it is forgetful of its teaching because the old man [15] dwells with it. (The soul) is given pain by him. On account of this it shall be forgetful, and it errs due to its affliction.

And, for its part, its teacher that gives teaching for it, casting repentance in its heart: It is the Light Mind. This one shall come from above. It is the "ray" [20] of the holy enlightener, the one that shall come shining on the soul; and it makes it pure and gives light to it and guides it to the land of light, from which it came at the beginning. And (the soul) can separate itself another time, and (go) up to its first essence.'

Kephalaion 145 'Three moons that exist' (348.12–27)

Once again the apostle speaks: 'This moon that is named "our hope", it is made of three moons! [15] And these three are the hope of everything.

One is the moon that is apparent in the firmament, which is the hope . . . numeration, that of the days, that of the months and that of the years.

The second moon is the spring of the living waters, which [20] ascend from the side below, as it appears . . . upon this earth. It is the hope and the life of every person.

The third is the Light Mind, the one that shall come and give the hope of life for the spirits and . . . [25] in all the generations of the world, generation by generation. It is the beautiful hope of all souls, the righteous and the true people.'

73. Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic)

This passage (edited by Lefort in Bang and Gabain (1929)) comes from the work of Shenoute: 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' = 'The Lord is long-suffering' (T41).[39] This is not the same text as another of Shenoute's works which deals with Manichaeans: 'And it is also good for us to say to you' = *De actis Archelai*,

[39] This translation by I. Gardner. The text is attested primarily in White Monastery Codex ZM, of which Paris BN Copte 131[4] f.158b (translated here) is a part. In the ancient page numbering of the codex it runs from p. 42 col. A onwards (f. 157 in the Paris MS), to somewhere after p. 66; leaves from the codex after p. 44 are held in collections other than the BN. From p.66 onwards it is lost in a lacuna. See Emmel (1993) sv. Codex ZM. Citations from the work are also found in some White Monastery lectionaries. Editions of 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' from White Monastery Codex ZM: p. 42.a.10 – end 42b = Paris, BN Copte. 131[4] 157 (-158a?): ined. ?; p. 43.a.1 – end of 44 = Paris, BN Copte. 131[4] 158b: summarised and ed. Lefort in Bang and Gabain (1929) 429–30; pp. 53–54 = IB 7.30: ed. Zoega (1810) CCXI/1, Amélineau (1914) II, 189–93; pp. 59–60 = IB 7.31: ed. Zoega (1810) CCXI/2, Amélineau (1914) II, 189–93; pp. 65–6 = Vienna Kopt.9257: ed. C. Wessely, *SPP* XVIII 287 (pp. 127–8); plus (?) pp. 63–4 = Cairo, Egyptian Museum 9280: ed. Munier (1916) 135–7.

(*Logoi* 8, work 16, ed. Leipoldt CSCO 42, no. 36, 109–10). Comments by Shenoute on Manichaeans are also found in *Logoi* 8, work 27, *De Vetere Testamento contra Manichaeos* = 'And we will also say this other thing'; and (more briefly) in *de sapientia magistratuum*, which precedes 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' in White Monastery Codex ZM (Berl. 1611[4], = pp. 17–18 of the codex, ed. Leipoldt CSCO 42, no 14, 32–3).

The section of 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' featured here is closely related to the *Acta Archelai*, see Polotsky (1932); the author clearly knew of the *Acta*, either in the Greek (or in a Coptic translation?), or perhaps through the excerpts in Epiphanius's *Panarion* (see *supra*, **58**). On the work see now Lucchesi (1999), esp. 73–75 (although some codicological details in Lucchesi's treatment on 73–74 should be corrected, see Emmel (1993) sv. Codex zm).

For, indeed, some say that this body will not rise, and that another one is given to its place; but others that, if the person should die, his soul shall go in to a robber; and others that it shall go in to the beasts; and others that it shall come to be floating in the atmosphere.

However, some say that the souls of the pagans shall come to be rising with the sun and the moon and the stars in the heavens; but others that they are taken to an island beyond the sea, that place – they say – where are the gods of the nations, and this is where they think that the souls will remain . . . Indeed, these things are what the pagans think.

However, the Manichaean: They say that if a soul which has been murdered should die, it shall be changed to a leprous body. And they also add to their godlessness: They say that the atmosphere is the soul of the animals and the people and the birds and the fish and the reptiles, and everything which is in the universe. Even more they say, that this body is not of God but of matter, and that it is darkness and must do darkness. And again, heaven and earth, they say that they are not of God. They reject the words of the holy prophets, saying that whoever would follow after them will die; and there are all their other acts of blasphemy that they say, whenever, against God and his Christ and all the holy ones. So much has he told us of their profanities, namely the one who has understood all their wickedness, the holy messenger of the lord, Athanasius the Archbishop. So again we have understood the error of many heretics, from his letters. And some, they destroy their soul . . .

CHAPTER 6

Worship and ethic

For a summary of the principles and practice of Manichaean religious life see Introduction (pp. 21–5). The following extracts again give emphasis to Manichaean writings in Coptic that are not widely known, supplemented by some classic descriptions by Augustine.

74. The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens

This 'Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness' (kephalaion 80, 192.3–193.22) contains a summary of the essential precepts held by the elect and the catechumens; arranged in two sets of two by three.

The first righteousness of the elect has three parts: to refrain from all sexual activity; to take great care not to harm the light-soul trapped everywhere in matter and especially vegetation (the Cross of Light), for instance by plucking fruit; and not to consume meat or alcohol (192.8–13). These correspond to the three seals of mouth, hands and breast discussed by Augustine (*signacula oris, manuum et sinus*; *de mor. Manich*. VII.10; IX.18); and also referred to in eastern Manichaean texts.

The second: to multiply wisdom, faith and grace.

The first righteousness of the catechumenate: fasting, prayer and alms-giving. The catechumens had to support the elect who could do no labour, farming or cooking.

The third: to give someone to the church; to share in their good works; to donate some church structure. The catechumens were allowed to marry and procreate, but were expected to compensate in this way.

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: 'Know and understand that the first righteousness a person will do to make truly righteous is this: he can embrace continence and purity. And he can also acquire "the rest **10** of the hands", so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross of Light. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will keep his mouth pure of all flesh and blood; and not take any taste at all of the "wine" name, nor fermented drink. This is the first righteousness. If a person will do it in his body, **15** he is pronounced righteous by all mankind.

Then, the second righteousness that he should do is this: He can add to it . . . wisdom and faith so that . . . from his wisdom he can give wisdom, to every person who will hear it from him. And also from his faith he can give faith, [20] to these who belong to the faith. From his grace he can give freely of love, shower it upon them, that he might join them to him. For, when that one acquires a great riches . . . in righteousness. By this second godliness he may cause others to be sent, resembling him in righteousness. [25] Just as this righteous one should fulfil the second and become a perfect elect; so too, if the catechumen shall be a catechumen of the faith, he is perfected in two stages.

The first work of the catechumenate that he [30] does is fasting, prayer, and alms-giving. Now, the fasting by which he can fast is this: he can fast on the lord's day and rest from the deeds of the world. And the prayer is this: **193** he can pray to the sun and the moon, the great light-givers. The alms-giving also is this: he can place it . . . in the holy one, and give it to them in righteousness . . .

The second work of the catechumenate that he [5] does is this: A person will give a child to the church for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative or member of the household; or he can rescue someone beset by trouble; or buy a slave, and give him for righteousness. Accordingly, every good he might do, namely this one whom he gave as a gift for [10] righteousness; that catechumen . . . will share in with them. Thirdly: A person will build a dwelling or construct some place; so they can become for him a portion of alms in the holy church.

If the catechumen shall fulfil [15] these three great works, these three great alms that he gives as a gift for the holy church . . . which these alms will achieve. Also, that catechumen himself, who gave them, he can . . . as he shares in them. The catechumens who will give . . . [20] have great love therein, and a share of every grace and good in the holy church. They will find many graces.'

75. The archetypes of ritual action

In kephalaion 9 (37.28–42.23: 'The explanation of the Peace: what it is; the Right Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation') the ritual actions that occur in human society, and which Mani has initiated in his church, are presented as reenactments of divine archetypes. Mani's lesson is carefully structured, and provides many important details and insights into Manichaean doctrine and church practice.

The descent of the First Man from the land of light was a favourite theme. Full of the pathos of loss and estrangement, it is in a very real sense the story of each soul. Thus this text makes much of the familial love and care within the divine household

(38.13–39.9). Once the sacrifice of the First Man has been achieved, he is saved by the Living Spirit and returns to the kingdom. This establishes and sanctifies the process of redemption; and, while it occurs at the beginning of the history, it also anticipates the triumphant return at the end of time of the collectivity of the divine, with the First Man at their head, to enter the new aeon (39.10–40.19).

Now that the primordial archetypes have been established, Mani immediately relates them to the individual's experience and the practice of the church (40.24–41.10). Mani then utilises the symbols to focus on the glorious hope offered to the victorious soul, when it meets the Light Form and receives its prizes (41.11–25). The lesson ends with the injunction to its hearers to honour and practice this divine teaching (41.26–42.23).

Once again the disciples questioned the apostle, saying to him: 'This peace and this greeting that occur in the world, from whom did they come forth? Or likewise, the right hand that occurs in the world, it being honoured by mankind, of whom is it? Or the mystery **35** of the kiss that they embrace one another with, . . . ? Or who is the one that reveals this **38** salutation with which they make obeisance to one another? Or this laying on of hands, which an immensely great one bequeaths upon his inferior, giving him an honour and making him great; of whom is this laying on of hands?'

Then he says to his disciples **5**: 'You have questioned me about these five lessons. Now, they are displayed in the world as miniatures, being made little; and yet indeed they are great and honoured. I am the one who can reveal to you their mystery! So, these five signs are the mystery of the First Man. He came forth with **10** them from the aeon of light. Also, when he finished his contest, he went up with these good signs. They received him into the aeons of light.

The first peace is the one that the gods and the angels in the land of light gave to the First Man, when he comes **15** out against the enemy. The gods and the angels were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First Man, as he comes forth from the aeon of light.

20 The first right hand is the one that the Mother of Life gave to the First Man, when he comes out to the contest.

The first kiss is this one with which the Mother of Life embraced the First Man; as he separates from her, coming down to the contest. Even all the gods and the **25** angels who are in the aeons of light were making to embrace him! . . . all of them also, and the church tutelaries (?), and the kinsfolk who belong to the household of his people. They were making to

embrace him as he separates from them, accompanying him out, embracing him with the kiss of affection and love.

30 The first salutation is the salutation with which the First Man made obeisance, when he comes out to the depths below. He was bending his knees, making obeisance to the God of truth, and all the aeons of light **39** who belong to the household of his people; entreating them for a power to escort him,[1] as he comes forth.

The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him 5 mighty. She laid hands on him, and sent him to the battle. He descended. He completed his struggle with the great powers and the enmity.

By these five signs and these five mysteries the First Man came forth from the aeons of light against the enemy. He humbled him. He was victorious against him by them. 10 Also, when he ascended from the war, he came in to the kingdom of the household of his people by these five mysteries.

The peace with which he ascended is the peace that the summons gave to him, when it was sent forth from the Father of Life. It gave him the peace in the world of darkness. 15 Also, that peace with which he descended is the same as the one with which he ascended from the struggle! Therefore, appropriate to the mystery of that peace, which the summons gave the First Man, did this peace here and now come about. It was named and heard among the powers of the Father.

Again, this 20 second right hand is the one that the Living Spirit gave the First Man, when he brought him upward out from the struggle. Appropriate to the mystery of that right hand this right hand has come about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind, as they give it to their companions, it being honoured and . . .

Also, this second kiss 25 is the one with which the Father of Life and the Mother of the living embraced the First Man, when he ascended from the struggle. Again, this kiss occurs among mankind, as they make to embrace their companions with it; whether then they go away from home and be far from their friends, or else 30 if they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man).

The second salutation with which the First Man made obeisance . . . this time to the God of truth and . . . the blessed aeons and all the aeons . . . the whole land of light, when **40** the Father of Life and the Mother of the living brought the Man upward from the abyss of the struggle. Appropriate to the mystery of the second salutation this salutation has come about; this

[1] Perhaps the angel Nahashbat referred to in the account of Theodor bar Khoni *Lib Schol.* XI.

one that occurs today in the midst of mankind, as they make obeisance to one another, doing an honour to their companions.

The second laying on of hands is this: When the Living Spirit brought the First Man upward from the war, he saved him from all the surging waves. He brought him upward, he gave him ease in the great aeons of light, which belong to the household of his people. He set him firmly before the Father, the Lord of the totality. Now, when he went up before the great Father of the lights, a voice came forth to him from the heights, saying: Make my son, my first-born, to sit at my right hand side, until I set all his enemies for a footstool under his feet.[2] He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader of his brethren in the new aeon. Again, appropriate to the mystery of the second laying on of hands, this laying on of hands has come about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind as they lay hands on one another, the great giving authority to the lesser.

These five mysteries and these five signs came about first in the divine. They were proclaimed in this world by an apostle. Mankind has been taught them; and they have instituted them in their midst . . . but these mysteries were not at the beginning amongst the powers of darkness.

The Light Mind also, who comes to the world, shall come with these several marks. With these five lessons he shall choose his church.

First, before everything else, he chooses his church with peace. And he gives the peace first to mankind; so that the person receives the peace, and becomes a child of peace. Afterwards he is elected to the faith. Now, when he may receive the peace, he shall receive the right hand and count to the right hand. Then, when he receives the right hand, the Light Mind shall draw him to him, and cause him to approach the church.

With the right hand he receives the kiss of love and becomes a child of the church . . . **41** With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance to the God of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the holy church . . . the hope of the faith, good works.

When they will receive the peace and the right hand, the kiss and the salutation, the last of these things shall be bequeathed upon them from the right hand of charity. They too receive the laying on of hands, which will be bequeathed upon them. And they are conformed and built up in the truth, and made strong in it for ever. They shall come in to the Light Mind with these good signs; and become fulfilled people. They make obeisance and give glory to the God of truth.

[2] Matt. 12.36.

Once again: at the time of their coming forth, the Light Form shall come forth before them; and she redeems them from the darkness to the light . . . This Light Form calms the person, with the kiss and her quiet, from fear of the [15] demons who destroy his body. By her aspect and her image the heart of the elect one, who is come forth from his body, shall be calm for him. Afterwards, the angel who holds the victory prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the kiss [20] and love. That soul shall make obeisance to its redeemer, who is this Light Form. And also, at the instant when . . . he shall be perfected and increased according to . . . in the household of the living ones, with the gods and the angels and all the apostles and the chosen. [25] And he receives the crown . . . glory in the life for ever.

Concerning this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs: Let you find these five signs in your hands, honoured before each one of you. They are: the peace; the right hand; the kiss; the salutation; and the laying on of hands. I have brought this [30] to you from the household of the living, out from the Father who sent me.

Happen you know, that a great mystery . . . him, by these five signs that I have brought . . . you may part from the world, because . . . you have understood about the first **42** peace and the first right hand and the first kiss and the first salutation and the first laying on of hands.

Therefore, let them find this laying on of hands being esteemed in your presence; as you give honour, and make obeisance to the teachers and the deacons and the presbyters, [5] they whom I have laid hands on. I have bequeathed upon them the great laying on of hands; because they are set in a great mystery, the laying on of hands of the divine, which is bequeathed upon the head of the teacher. Now, whoever will reject and disdain it, and it is made nothing by him: he commits sin subject to God, with great [10] sin; and also against me too.

Still, you, my beloved ones, hasten in to these five . . . you, and you . . . fulfil at these occasions . . . wishes he may answer you . . . [15] . . . as he told you . . . that are in the storehouses of . . . your heart . . . them, for he . . . which is set right by you . . . each one [20] . . . listen to him. He knows every deed that you do, all of them, . . . with your companions . . . this . . . he turns to you . . . and he . . . from you the afflictions of . . .'

76. The three seals

Augustine on the Three Seals (or Symbols) of the Manichaean elect (Latin).[3]

[3] Aug., *de mor. Manich* x.19 and xviii.65, ed. cit. 104.16–105.2, 146.13–15 and 147.1–4; Eng. trans. S. Llewelyn.

(19) Now let us look at these three symbols which you discuss in your manner with much praise and approval. What after all are these signs? Assuredly (the signs) of mouth, hands and heart. What is this? In order that a man, he says, be pure and blameless in word, deed and thought. What if he should sin with his eyes, ears or nose? What if he should injure a man with stones (his heals), or even kill him? How will we hold that defendant who has sinned neither by mouth, hands nor heart? Yet when I say "mouth", he says, I wish all the senses which are in the head to be understood. Moreover, when "hand", every deed; when "heart", every seminal desire. . . .

(65) Not sexual intercourse; but, as has been said long before by the apostle, you really forbid marriage which is at the same time a virtuous defence against such a deed . . . Were you not accustomed to advise us to observe as far as possible the period when a woman was fit for conception after the purification of her womb, and at that time to refrain from sexual intercourse lest the soul be entangled in the flesh?

77. Augustine on the bema *festival*

Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8, CSEL 25/1, 202, 7–18 and 203, 1–4; trans. S. Lieu.

When I was a hearer among you, I frequently asked why it was that the paschal feast of our lord was celebrated with little or no interest, though sometimes there were a few half-hearted worshippers, but no special fast was proscribed for the hearers, – in short, no solemn ceremony, – while great honour is paid to your (feast of the) *bema*, that is, the day on which Manichaeus was martyred, when you erect a platform with five steps, covered with precious cloth, placed conspicuously so as to face the worshippers. The reply was: That the day to observe was the day of the passion of him who really suffered, and that Christ, who was not born, but appeared to human eyes not in real but a semblance of flesh, did not endure but feigned suffering.

. . . In fact, it was a great pleasure to us that the feast of the *bema* was held during *pascha*, as we used to desire with greater ardour that festal day (i.e. the *bema*) since the other (i.e. the *pascha*) which was once so very precious had been removed.

78. A bema *psalm*

This example (number 222 in the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book* codex, ed. Allberry 7.11–9.1 and adapted by I. Gardner) of the many *bema* psalms evidences the central role of this festival, which celebrated Mani's martyrdom, in Manichaean life. The

author is unknown. The *bema* or judgement seat symbolises that which Jesus will occupy at the end of time. Until Jesus' return Mani himself occupies it, (as an icon during the festival); for he is Jesus' apostle, as well as guardian and founder and principal exemplar for the community. It is worth reiterating that the Manichaeans regarded themselves as the true church of the saints.

A parallel version to part of this psalm (*PsBk2*. ed. Allberry 8.6 to the end) has been found at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis) inscribed in Coptic on a wooden board (*T. Kell*. II Copt. 4). The board then continues with a parallel to psalm 109 of the Medinet Madi collection, and seems originally to have formed part of a wooden codex. The earlier date of the Ismant version enables some minor emendations to be made which improve Allberry's text.[4] Other improvements have been suggested by G. Wurst in his recent reedition of the Coptic text (with German translation, Wurst (1996)). Furthermore, in the translation now provided here, the layout has been altered to reflect the phrases, strophes and refrains that would have been used in actual liturgical practice (similarly Wurst). We have also made some changes to Allberry's English wording, to conform to our own style in this volume.

(Psalm) 222 By the same.

7 O soul, know this great sign,
that this is the sign of the remission of your sins.

This visible *bema*,
the word set it before you,
that he might sow in you through what is visible
the remembrance of the hidden judgment,
which you have forgotten since the day
when you drank the water of madness.

O soul . . .

Lo, there has come to you the grace of the day of joy,
do for your part reveal without fear all your sins today;
and be mindful of your end, and prepare yourself in your works,
for the *bema* of wisdom moves you concerning it.

Paul, the glorious one, bears witness, saying unto you:
'The *bema* of Christ, in it there is no respect of persons;
whether we will or not, we shall all receive this (evaluation).'
This too is what the *bema* silently proclaims.

[4] However, the nominal form used in the Ismant parallel to 8.22 ('the forgiveness of sins') has not been followed, because it destroys the Coptic syntax of the Medinet Madi version, and without a complete text it is unclear how it should be read.

The wanton hours of wickedness, rule entirely over them,
(the ceaseless fire) of foul lust;
and do you (forsake) wrath and envy and sadness,
also the (other) bitter (bonds) of wickedness, loose them today.

(May) the judge see you keeping these commandments,
(and may he) honour you and give you life;
complete forgiveness will he bestow on you,
come therefore and walk on these holy steps.

8 May the *bema* become for you a landing-place of your days,
a place of cleansing of your life, a chest filled with teaching,
a ladder to the heights, a counting-balance of your deeds;
and as you see the likeness of these things in the *bema*, bless it.

Say unto it: 'You are blessed, great instrument of the word,
upright *bema* of the great judge,
the seat of the fathers of light that are far removed from error,
foundation of the sweet victory, full of wisdom.'

Hail, *bema* of victory, true sign of our city,
joyous shining crown of the souls that are victorious;
but judgment and condemnation of sinners.
Hail, *bema* of the mind of the holy scriptures.

Every tree today has become new again.
Lo, the roses have spread their beauty abroad,
for the bond has been severed that does harm to the leaves;
do you also sever the chains and the bond of our sins.

All the air is luminous, the sphere glitters today,
even the earth puts forth blossom, the waves of the sea are still;
for the gloomy winter has passed that is full of trouble,
let us too escape from the iniquity of evil.

Forgive the sins of they that know your mystery,
to whom there has been revealed the knowledge of the
secrets of the exalted one,
through the wholesome wisdom wherein there is no error,
of the holy church of the Paraclete, our father.

The joy-filled treasure of the glorious spirit,
give it as a present to us and extend it unto us all,

and wash us in joy and . . .
his drops also that will wash the . . .

Glory to thee, our father Manichaios, the glorious one,
(the joy of) the gods, . . . , the entire remission of sins,
the preaching of life, the ambassador of they that are on high;
glory to your *bema*, your seat that gives . . .

9 May also the soul of Maria have access to your mercy, my master.

79. The profits of fasting

This is kephalaion 79: 'Concerning the Fasting of the Saints' (191.9–192.3).

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: 'The fasting that the saints fast by is profitable for four great works.

The first work: Shall the holy man punish his body by fasting, he [15] subdues the entire ruling-power that exists in him.

The second: This soul that comes in to him in the administration of his food, day by day; it shall be made holy, cleansed, purified, and washed from the adulteration of the darkness that is mixed in with it.

The third: [20] That person shall make every deed a holy one; the mystery of the children of light in whom there is neither corruption nor . . . the food, nor wound it. Rather, they are holy, there is nothing in them that defiles, as they live in peace.

The fourth: They make a . . . [25] . . . the Cross, they restrain their hands from the hand . . . not destroy the living soul.

The fasting is profitable to the saints for these four great works should they persist; that is if they are constant in them daily, and cause the body to make all its [30] members to fast with a holy fast.

. . . faith. They who have not strength to fast daily should make their fast **192** on the lord's day. They too make a contribution to the works and the fasting of the saints by their faith and their alms.'

80. A psalm of endurance

This (*PsBk2*. 141.1–143.34 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner) is one of the 'psalms of the wanderers', those ascetics who personified the ideal Manichaean elect. 'Endurance' (here the Greek ὑπομονή or Coptic ⲃⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛ) or 'long-sufferingness'

(to translate literally the Coptic term ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲯϩⲏⲧ) may well be said to identify the most characteristic tone of the Manichaean ethic, its very summation of life lived in this world.

141 . . . spirit of endurance come to us,
let endurance endure and let us bear up that we may
. . . endurance.
. . . the First Man, he was sent out to the fight,
and endurance came to him.
He left his land of light behind him, he went out to the land of darkness
and endurance came to him.
He left also his people behind him, he went out to the field . . .
and endurance came to him.

. . . of the gods, he came to the border of the man-eaters.
Endurance
. . . in the midst of the . . . ,[5] he came that he might raise it (?)
Endurance
. . . the angels, he came to the rampart (?)[6] of the robbers.
Endurance
. . . , he gave them as food to the beasts.
Endurance
. . . they going forth, knowing that they would fall into trouble.
Endurance
. . . not a need which came upon them.
Endurance
. . . to trouble until they saved the . . .
Endurance
. . . also are the enduring ones at this time.
Let (. . .)
(The five) weight-carriers that support the weight of the enemy.
Endurance
They are the five sons of the father, the Living Spirit.
Endurance
. . . that bears up, that comes from the heights to the depths.
Endurance

[5] The word means 'rose' in its other occurrences in Manichaean Coptic texts, but must express something else here.
[6] For this reading see Allberry, *PsBk2.*, note.

. . . overseers that . . . the prison.

Endurance

142 Yet they wearied not . . .
The Father himself also who is silent . . .
The second man, Adam, fell into . . .
Sethel also, his son: his endurance is great.
. . . seventy-three years . . .
Enosh also and Noah, Shem . . .
The righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured.
This multitude that were wiped out: four thousand . . .
Enoch also, the sage, the transgressors being . . .

All the blessed that have been have endured these pains,
down to the glorious one, the beloved, Jesus, our lord:
they put a crown of thorns on him, they . . . ;
they smote him in his face, they spat upon him;
they hung him to a cross, they nailed to him four . . . ;
wine, vinegar, and myrrh they gave him and he took them.
All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.

All the apostles that endured their pains:
Peter the apostle, who was crucified upside down:
how many tortures did he suffer, . . . with this purity.

Andrew the apostle, they set fire to the house beneath him:
he and his disciples, all hail to them, they were crucified.

The two sons of Zebedee were made to drink the cup of the . . . :
John the virgin, he also was made to drink the cup,
fourteen days imprisoned that he might die of (hunger);
And James also, he was stoned and killed,
they all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm.

The same things also did Thomas endure in his cross:
four soldiers at once pierced him with the point of the lance,
they surrounded him on four sides and made his blood flow . . .
how many mysteries did he perform, many a sign did he fulfil.

Paul the apostle, they went against him that they might kill him:
how great then is their wrath, he expired, he did not escape;

I therefore too have endured the things which he suffered before today.[7]

143 he was thrown into a basket and hung outside the wall;
all these things he suffered, he did not weary, he did not flinch;
he left the open court of the lord, knowing that . . .

Thecla, the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire:
she received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire rejoicing;
yet was she not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd;
she was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her;
she was bound to the bulls, the seals were let loose to her;
all these things that she suffered, she did not flinch, she did not . . them;
a crown it is that she desires, it is purity for which she fights.

The blessed Drusiane also, she also suffered the same:
fourteen days imprisoned like her master, her apostle.

Maximilla and Aristobula, on them was great torture inflicted:
what need for them to suffer these things, it is purity for which they fight.

All the godly that there have been, male, female, all have suffered;
down to the glorious one, the apostle Mani the living.

Our lord Manichaios himself also was made to drink the cup:
he received the likeness of them all, he fulfilled all their signs.
How many of his disciples also received the likeness of their fathers?

We also, my brethren, have our part of suffering:
we shall join with them in the suffering and rest in their rest;
the covenant of our father, the profit and the loss are divided between us;
we are true sons, the heirs of their fathers;

There is nothing that is free from suffering that will rest in the end:
the very seed also that is sown, unless it dies, finds not the way to live,
but by its death it lives and gives life also.

[7] This line has been inserted at the page end, in the midst of a verse celebrating Paul.

Let us make ourselves strong also, my brethren; for lo, the rest has reached us,
that we may receive the blessing of all whereof we have spoken,
and dwell with one another in the glorious land of light,
with no foe and no enemy and no adversary from henceforth,
but it is peace and joy and life eternal.
Lo, this is the end of the psalm of endurance.

Glory and honour to our lord, our light, Mani the living, who
endured to the end, and his holy elect, and the soul (of Maria).

81. Augustine on Manichaean ethics

Aug., *ep.* 236.2.[8]

Those who are called hearers among them eat flesh and meat, till the soil, and, if they wish, have wives; but those called elect do none of these things. The hearers kneel before the elect that these may lay a hand on the suppliant, and this is done not only toward their priests or bishops or deacons, but toward any of the elect. Like these, they adore and pray to the sun and moon. Like them, they fast on Sunday; like them, they believe all the blasphemies for which the heresy of the Manichaeans is to be abominated, denying, for example, that Christ was born of a virgin, claiming that his body was not real but apparent, and for this reason insisting that his passion was apparent, too, and that there was no resurrection. They revile the patriarchs and prophets. They say that the law given through Moses, the servant of God, did not come from the true God, but from the Prince of Darkness. They think that the souls of men as well as of beasts are of the substance of God and are, in fact, pieces of God. Finally, they say that the good and true God fought with the tribe of darkness and left a part of himself mingled with the Prince of Darkness, and they assert that this part, spread over the world, defiled and bound, is purified by the food of the elect and by the sun and moon; and whatever is left of that part of God which cannot be purified is bound with an everlasting and penal bond at the end of the world. As a consequence, they believe that God is not only subject to violation, corruption, and contamination, since it was possible for a part of Him to be brought to such an evil pass, but the whole God cannot even

[8] Ed. Goldbacher 524.12–525.11; trans. Parsons (1956) 180–1. §§1 and 3 of the letter are given in **39** (ch. 3, *supra*).

be purified from such foulness and filthiness and misery even at the end of the world.

Augustine on the Manichaean preference for money-lending over farming (Latin).[9]

Hear the common and abominable error of the Manichaeans which they confess: They say it is better for a man to be a usurer than a farmer. You ask, 'Why?', and they repeat the reason. See if the reason is not to be called madness. For, they say, the person who gives money on usury does not injure the Cross of Light.[10] (Many do not understand, but let me explain.) However, the person who is a farmer very much harms the Cross of Light. You ask, 'What Cross of Light?' Those parts, they say, of God which were captured in that battle were mixed altogether with the world and are in the trees, plants, fruit trees and fruit.

He who furrows the ground annoys God's parts. He who plucks fruit from a tree annoys God's parts. Lest he should commit these spurious murders on the land, he commits true murders in usury. He does not give food to him who begs. See if there can be greater evil than this justice. He does not give food to him who begs. You ask, 'Why?' Lest the beggar receive the life which is in food and which they say is a part of God, the divine substance, and they despatch it in the flesh. What then are you? What? Why do you beg? Do you not have flesh? But, they say, because we are illuminated by the faith of Manichaeus, by our prayers and psalms we who are elect purify thereupon the life which is in the food and send it to the heavenly treasury. The elect are such that they are not to be saved by God but are the saviours of God. And Christ himself, they say, was crucified in the whole world.

82. Augustine on the redemption of the light particles

The apparent reverence that the Manichaeans held for vegetation over animal and human life (in reality: reverence for the divine) was a profitable theme for Augustine's attack, and he made good use of his rhetorical skills on this theme. In this passage (Latin)[11] one can easily read the implied comparison to Christian charity.

It is worthwhile to know the full reason for this superstitious abstinence. Here, then, is the explanation. Since it is said, a part of God was mixed

[9] Aug., *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.12 (lines 2–26), eds. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL XL (Turnhout, 1956) 2034–5; trans. S. Llewelyn.

[10] The Cross of Light signifies the suffering (or crucifixion) of light-particles in plant- and animal-life.

[11] Aug., *de mor. Manic.* XV.36, ed. cit. 121.1–22; trans. cit. 90–1.

with the substance of evil in order to restrain it and to suppress any furious outbreaks (these are your own words), the world was made of a mixture of both natures, good and evil. However, the divine part is being released daily from all parts of the world and returning to its own domain; but as it comes up through the earth and rises toward heaven, it enters the plants, their roots being fixed in the ground, and gives life and fertility to the grass and other vegetation. The animals eat the plants, and if they mate, imprison the divine part in their flesh, thus diverting it from its rightful course and causing it to become enmeshed in hardship and error. However, when food prepared from fruits and vegetables is served to the holy men, that is, to the Manichaeans, whatever is of true worth and is divine in it is purified by the chastity, prayers and psalms of these men, and is perfected in every way, so that it can return to its own domain free of all defilement. That is why you forbid anyone to give bread, vegetables, or even water (which everyone has in abundance) to a beggar if he is not a Manichaean, for fear that the part of God which is mixed with these things will be defiled by his sins and thus hindered in its return.

83. A psalm of the universal soul

Psalms to the living soul are one of the major categories in the extensive surviving Manichaean literature. This example (psalm 246, *PsBk2*. 54.7–55.15, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner) is notable for its powerful panentheistic imagery. A version of this psalm (parallel to 55.3ff) was also found at Ismant el-Kharab (*P. Kell.* II Copt. 1), from which it has been possible to make some improvements to Allberry's text. Interestingly, that version exhibits no doxology.

(Psalm) 246

54 Come to me, my kinsman, the light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: you have your saviour:
(your) defence is Christ, for he will receive you into his kingdom.

Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which . . . me;
I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They blazed in their wrath, they rose up against me,
they ran to . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them,
they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not;
they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to me;
I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.

I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths,
I am the light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls.
I am the life of the world, I am the milk that is in all trees,
I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of matter.

55 . . . I went forth to the . . .
. . . the aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . .
I will bear up under these things until I fulfil the will of my father;
the First Man is my father, the one who perfected his struggle.

Lo, the darkness I have subdued;
lo, the fire of the demons I have extinguished.
The sphere turns quickly,
while the lights purify the life.

O soul, raise your eyes to the heights, and you see your form:
lo, the mother, you have reached her; lo, your fathers, they call upon you.
Go aboard your ships of light and receive your glorious crown;
and return to your kingdom and rejoice with all the aeons.

Glory and honour to our lord Mani the living,
(and his) holy elect; and the soul of the blessed (Maria).

84. A psalm to glorify the Mind

This (*PsBk2*.162.21–163.32, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Iain Gardner) is from 'the psalms of the wanderers' in the Medinet Madi codex.

162 (With) our holy voice we glorify the Mind:
(for if he) lodges with us we give holy fruit.

(O) father, o Light Mind, come and wear me,
(until) I have recited the woe of the son of man.

(My) lord Jesus, come and wear me,
until I purify the body of the First Man.

O compassion of glory, daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . all, none knows your honour.

. . . make music, children only of the Paraclete,
they that have . . . you, . . . weeping daily for your wounds.

You are the two-edged axe,
163 wherewith they cut the bitter root.

You are the . . . that is in the hand of the virgin,
which was thrust into the heart of the enemy.

You are the first ship (?) of the first warrior,
wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled.

You are the first weapon of the first hero,
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.

(You are the) church of the father, the First Man;
(you are the) vineyard of the first husbandman.

You are the eye of plenty that came with the abundance,
until it had closed the eyes of the malignant ones.

(How great) is your fortitude, o daughter of wisdom:
for you have not yet wearied, watching over the enemy.

For you the ships are waiting on high,
that they may draw you up and take you to the light.

Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out (in the middle of) the universe,
that you may walk in him and receive (your) unfading (crowns).

Lo, the five porters are spread over the world,
that your heart may not suffer and that you may cast the burden from off you.

(Lo, the) righteous will illumine you;
lo, the forgiveness of sins of the catechumens of the faith.

(Lo,) the medicine-chest of the physician will heal your wounds;
lo, the knowledge and the wisdom will put your clothes upon you.

(Walk,) therefore, in joy, drawn to the land of light,
sealed with your seal and with your unfading crowns.

Walk also in gladness: your sufferings have passed today;
lo, the harbour of peace: you have moored in it.

Glory to this compassion and to them that purify it,
and to them that save it, the catechumens of the faith.

Peace and rest be there to the soul
(of the) blessed Maria, Theona.

85. Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen'

For many years the edited and published text of the *Kephalaia* ended in the midst of this chapter at page 291 (Böhlig 1966); although page 292 had been made available in an article that discussed the liturgical context (Böhlig 1985). Then, for his English translation of the published portion of the codex (1995), I. Gardner utilised W.-P. Funk's working text of the Coptic to publish a draft of the entire kephalaion. Finally, in 1999, Funk published the complete edited text. Since this contains many improved readings[12] over the version utilised by Gardner, we take this opportunity to provide a revised English translation.

(291.4–292.8) The assent and the amen (or perhaps better: the 'yea' and the 'truly') are convictions proclaimed by the community at prayer; as in Christian practice. In this chapter Mani asserts their divine archetypes in the summons and the obedience, the two gods that embody the will to redemption. Thus the First Man was redeemed from the abyss; and in the present time they are incarnate in the holy church. Therefore, the assent and the amen uttered by the congregation seal the redemption for which they ask.

(292.9–25) The assent and the amen also bear forth a beautiful living image sculpted by the faith of the believers; and which ascends daily to the land of rest.

(292.26–294.22) The assent and the amen are also a great power; for in prayer they bring help both to the sick and at times of temptation. Various examples and analogies are given.

[12] Funk has made further improvements even after his 1999 publication (personal correspondence), and these have been followed here in advance of the publication of his projected 'addenda and corrigenda'.

Once again, one of the disciples . . . to him: 'Tell me, my master, . . . **291** . . . the name that we may utter over the blessing . . . we bless, and also the prayer by which we pray. Tell us: What is the 'assent' and the 'amen'?'

Our enlightener says to him: 'The assent and the amen [5] have come about from these great ones of the powers. They were given the name as the assent belongs to the summons and the amen belongs to the answer.

Just as the summons and the obedience are the ones that opened the portals of mercy and entreaty for the First Man, so they also became portals for the Mother [10] of Life and the Father of the living. The First Man sought and found his redeemer. And also the Mother of Life and the Father of the living sought . . . this runner, who came forth from them, who is the First Man; but the summons and the obedience became the [15] portals for them.

Now, in this way they have become portals for the aeons of greatness towards the First Man, and the soul that was conjoined with death. They became helpers . . . of the First Man during his ascent. They gave him . . . the Father of Life and the Mother of Life . . . [20] They are purifiers of the living soul, being helpers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in . . . in the tree or in the creation of flesh . . . the holy church . . . the earth . . . summons and the obedience that [25] . . . the portals . . . in the holy church . . . helpers, bestowers of power and collectors . . . teacher . . . purified for their sake . . . [30] . . . a letter . . . **292** that it might be uttered over the psalm and over the prayer, with the entreaty and the supplication. For, whenever one will bless and respond to the assent and the amen, the assent and the amen shall be a seal for the blessing. Also, when [5] the congregation will beseech an entreaty with a question, and they all answer and say 'verily and amen', they shall seal the entreaty that the congregation has asked for and besought.

Happen you know that the assent and the amen are a great person [10] who exists in your midst. Call upon him, all of you, and rejoice in him with great joy; because he has come to you for your benefit. He has pledged, in your presence, to bring forth by him a new birth daily, very good and honoured before the living ones above. [15] So, when great crowds of people utter the assent and the amen, happen you know that the sound of all the people who respond shall collect and come together, and it fixes and sculpts and is formed and makes a good image, very beautiful [20] and honoured. It goes up to the land of tranquillity and peace, and they all give thanks; because a great blessing (?) is gathered, which has ascended

from all these who responded. For it was uttered by them all. It separated and attained the land of tranquillity [25] and peace by their joy and their mercies.

Happen you know that the assent and this amen are a great power. Whenever one will be found in . . . in bodily danger . . . sick . . . they pray for him . . . and they utter [30] over him the assent and the amen; and . . . in his sickness, and he improves . . . through a power, and they entreat . . . **293** . . . utter it over him. Now, if it happens that you find one amongst you under the hand of the persecutors . . . and you pray for him and call upon him the assent and the amen; then [5] a great help comes to him from the assent and the amen, which will be called upon him.

Again, if it happens that you find one amongst the elect who is not good; in whom lust (?) is awakened, and it is established against him . . . by the evil counsels, and he is set firm and stands [10] with his brothers and confesses his sin. So, if at first he will beseech for himself mercy, that if God will spare (?) him that temptation; and also if his brothers will confirm his condition; they will pray and call over him the assent and the amen. And [15] immediately there is a power come from the assent and the amen, and it annuls the lust and the temptation that he has carried around in him. And also, whenever a prayer will be besought over that person; as they call for the assent and the amen, he will hear it being uttered . . . [20] . . . a great power comes to him out from the assent and the amen; and it helps him and it makes . . . through his temptations. And the power of the assent and the amen goes up to the ships, and it is sculpted to a single image. That image . . . [25] . . . upon him the prayer, and it . . . and it fortifies him and gives strength . . . through it.

So, this amen is like the way a person might go on a path (?) . . . his goods . . . [30] . . . Now, whenever he may see it . . . **294** . . . from him entirely, and they . . . However, the time that he may . . . his cry in . . . [5] . . . and they who . . . on the path, they will . . . and he is saved . . . Now, whenever these . . . against the cry of this person . . . ; but his enemies who took his goods . . . [10] . . . he will again be saved because of these . . . on account of this cry . . . which he has cast (shouted out?).

Again, this is just like that elect . . . they will release a sickness of the body [15] . . . and an evil counsel oppresses him, and he . . . and he prays; and they again call upon him the assent and the amen . . . which is master . . . walls . . . is master to the heavens and the ships of the . . . [20] . . . from them; and it comes and is a helper . . . Whenever . . . the assent and the amen.

Behold, I have opened your eyes about the assent and the amen, that they are a great power. On account of this, . . . go up . . . from before . . . when you utter it and call it . . . upon him . . . answer you . . . the assent and the amen can answer you.'

One amongst those standing . . . says . . . **295** . . . 'the persecutors . . . him . . . the assent and the amen . . . shall be uttered from God, who is the one who can . . . that they might utter it?'

The apostle says: 'It was given a name in the world by the apostles and the first fathers; the sects brought it fame, but they did not know.'

Then, when that disciple had heard this simile, he glorified, blessed, and sat down.

86. The nature of love

This is kephalaion 63, entitled: 'Concerning Love' (155.30–156.34). Mani reveals the divine nature of love, which is manifested in the world in the church. In contrast, hate is the nature of the darkness; but it too is present in this time of mixture.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: 'What is love? . . . each . . . , calling it 'love'.

156 Love is the Father of Greatness, who dwells in his glorious land. The entirety of the divine has been revealed therein! These two are a single living body, the Father and his love; because he has given himself for every thing, as he exists in his aeons. Indeed, due to this, they called the Father, the Lord of the totality, 'love'. For he gave the victory to his aeons and his limbs.

Again, the beginning of all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in the holy church; they have also called it 'love'. As indeed the church is made strong therein! These two, the Mind and the church, a single body is also their likeness; because, again, the apostle too shall give his own self for his church. And again, due to this, the church too calls him 'love'. So is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone to give himself to death for his friend.[13] Likewise, too, the beginning of righteousness is made of love for the church, according both to body and to spirit. While in the body, in the church here; so in the spirit, in the heights above.'

Once again he speaks: 'What, conversely, is hate? Hate is the first death that welled up. It revealed the land of darkness. This one called 'hate', because it has ruined all its perdition's offspring; it sinned even against a power foreign to it, and ruined it. Due to this they shall call it 'hated';

[13] Cf. John 15:13.

for it has caused destruction, both wounding in flesh, and what is not its own. Today again it causes wounding and destruction in all flesh. It kills them all with diverse deaths; these that are displayed today in everything, in every type. Even the Cross of Light, the **30** living soul, likewise too it ruins and kills them; as it did at the start. Indeed, due to this have they called it 'hated', this one from the hated; the envy from the envy; the devil from the devil; the bad that came about from the bad.'

87. A psalm in praise of Jesus

Manichaeism developed a very extensive tradition of psalm-composition, and these remain as a most distinctive and impressive memorial to the community and to the faith of its practitioners. A great many of the psalms were dedicated to Jesus, (this is true of the eastern literature as well as the western, despite the general Buddhist – rather than Christian – cultural environment), which can be taken as indicative of the major power of this figure in devotion throughout the Manichaean world and in all its ages. The following example (*PsBk2*.151.4–152.9 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) belongs to a group entitled ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν i.e. the 'psalms of the wanderers' (wandering ascetics).

151 Jesus my true guard, may you guard me: first-
5 born of the Father of the Lights, may you guard me.
(You) are the living wine, the child of the true vine.
Give us to drink a living wine from your vine.
In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me.
Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us.
10 When I utter your name over the sea it stills its waves.
Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?
You are a perfect day, being like unto your Father in the heavens.
(You) invite us: you have broached for us a (new) wine.
They that drink your wine, their heart rejoices in it.
15 They are drunk with your love and gladness is spread over their . . .
They think of them that are on high, and arm themselves to fight against the dragon.
The word of God is sweet when it finds ears to hear it.
It lodges not in a mind that is shut, it makes not its way to a shrine that is polluted.
It lodges with the maidens and dwells in the heart of the continent.

They with whom it lodges: its grace spreads over them.
They gird up their loins and arm themselves to fight with the dragon.
This name 'Jesus': a grace surrounds it.
Your burden is light for him that can bear it.
How great a lover of man you are, o Jesus, the first rose of the Father.
How kindly you are . . . the kindly one of the gods.
When I think of you, my lord, great is the fear that surrounds me.
When I would glorify you, I find not to whom I should liken you.
When I seek you I find you within illumining me.
Perhaps I too am worthy to (hear) the divine call.
. . . myself to you, fair is your glory in my mouth, my lord.
The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with crowns and lush palms.

152

It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark.
The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they whom he . . .
Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our voyage . . .
The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the heights.
It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them that are left behind.
They are the . . . that are spread in the deceit of life.
He will . . . bring them to the harbour of the immortals.
(It is laden with) crowns and lush palms for ever and ever.
(Victory) and rest be there to the soul of Maria.

88. A psalm to the Trinity

PsBk2.115.4–116.23 (ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Iain Gardner).

115

. . . for ever, even the Father, the King of . . .
. . .
our own . . . is the Holy Spirit.

(The Father) of Greatness is the Father,

the . . . (of the) sufferer is the Son . . .
. . . of life is the Holy Spirit.

(A) raiser of the dead is the Father,
a conqueror himself of death is the Son,
a gatherer (?) of his own is the Holy Spirit.

A hidden one from everlasting is the Father,
the word that appears is the Son,
the . . . is the Holy Spirit.

An intellectual intelligence entire is the Father,
but a stranger to the world is the Son,
the path of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

A perfect rich one is the Father,
the proclamation of the hidden things is the Son,
the silence of them that . . . is the Holy Spirit.

He that has power over the universe is the Father,
he that . . . the Father is the Son,
the light of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

The Father rejoices always,
the Son also makes music to the Father,
but his is wisdom entire, even the Holy Spirit.

May we ourselves generate love towards the Father,
the faith which is in us towards the Son,
the fear of our heart towards the Holy Spirit.

The seal of the mouth for the sign of the Father,
the peace of the hands for the sign of the Son,
the purity of virginity for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

116 Pious love for the sign of the Father,
the knowledge of wisdom for the sign of the Son,
the fulfilment of the commandments for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

The light that is on high is the Father,
the power of God that supports the totality is the Son,
the wisdom that looks forth is the Holy Spirit.

Jesus, the tree of life, is the father;
the fruit, the Light Mind, is the son;
the Virgin, this sweet one, is the holy spirit.

Jesus, the glorious, is the father,
the blessed Light Mind is the son,
the Virgin of Light is the holy spirit.

Let us pray then, my brethren, that we may find the Father,
and fast daily that we may find the Son,
and discipline our life that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father,
and seal our hands that we may find the Son,
and guard our purity that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Glory to our lord Mani the living through the Father,
honour to his elect through the Son,
blessing to his catechumens through the Holy Spirit.

Victory and salvation may there be through them to the soul of the blessed Maria.

89. A prayer for the ascent of the soul

This text is probably a liturgical prayer intended to reinforce the faith in the face of death. The shifting person of the subject makes the flow of the text rather disjointed. The first person 'I' must be the individual believer, here as the redeemed soul. 'He' is the saviour figure: initially the Ambassador, then Jesus and then Mani and so on. The feminine of lines 120–1 is the image; this could be translated as 'it', but the personification seems preferable. The third plurals at lines 128 and 137 can perhaps better be read as passives: 'I was given . . .'.

Thus, the text may be understood as follows:

the individual takes upon him- or herself, 'I *will* pray to the Third Ambassador . . .';
then the awareness of a continuous present, 'He *is* sending to me Jesus the Splendour . . .';
then the statement of a kind of triumphant past, 'They *have* ferried me up to the land of light . . .'.

As regards the details of the path to salvation, these remained remarkably constant across the Manichaean world, and must stem from Mani's own canonical writings. In the tenth century an-Nadīm recorded:

Mani said:

When death comes to one of the elect, Primal Man sends him a shining deity in the form of the wise guide. With him are three deities, with whom there are the drinking vessel (or 'the victory prize' ?), clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light. There accompanies them a virgin who resembles the soul of that member of the elect.

Then there appear to him the devil of craving and lust and the (other) devils. When the member of the elect sees them, he seeks the aid of the deity who is in the form of the wise, and the three deities who come close to him. When the devils see them, they turn back fleeing. Then they take the member of the elect and garb him with the crown, the diadem, and the garments. They place the drinking vessel in his hand and mount up with him in the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon, to Primal Man and al-Bahijah, Mother of the Living, to where he at first was in the gardens of light. As for the body which is abandoned and cast down . . . [14]

The specific Coptic terminology in this present piece (*T. Kell. Copt.* 2, text A 5) is found also in the Medinet Madi codices. The use of the perfect tense is at first surprising, since the final revelation of the Father must be in the future, after the destruction of the universe. However, the tense should be understood poetically, noting that Coptic has no future perfect. There occurs the same anticipation in the *Psalm-Book*:

> Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber:
> I have rested with him in the land of the immortals;
> my brethren, I have received my garland.
> (My) land I have beheld, my fathers I have found:
> the godly have rejoiced over me, my aeons have welcomed me;
> my brethren, I have received my crown.[15]

(I will?) pray to the Third Ambassador. He sent unto me Jesus the Splendour, the apostle of light, the redeemer of souls. He (bore (?)) me to the Light Mind, the Virgin of Light. The spirit of truth, our lord Manichaios, he gave to me his knowledge. He made me strong in his faith. He has fulfilled me in his commandments. The image of my counterpart came unto me, with her three angels. She gave to me the garment and the crown and the palm and the victory. He took me to the judge without any shame; for what he entrusted to me I have perfected. I washed in the Pillar. I was perfected in the Perfect Man. They gave me my first mind in the living atmosphere. I rose up to the ship of living water; unto the father, the First Man. He gave me his image, his blessing, and his love. I rose

[14] Trans. Dodge (1970), 795 (slightly adapted).
[15] *PsBk2*. 63.3–8 (ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Gardner).

up to the ship of living fire; unto the Third Ambassador, the apostle of light, the good father. They ferried me up to the land of light, to the first righteous one and the Beloved of the Lights. I came to rest in the kingdom of the household (?);[16] for the Father of the Lights has revealed to me his image.

[16] Or: '. . . the kingdom of this one'.

CHAPTER 7

Community texts

As we have seen, the study of Manichaeism has been transformed by the discoveries of actual primary sources written by members of the community itself. This marked an enormous step forward over the prior reliance on accounts by mostly hostile opponents. Nevertheless, finds such as the Medinet Madi library and the *Mani Codex* have been of literary texts, and are still divorced from the presence of the living communities who created and used them. Thus, a further transformation of the discipline can be claimed for the recovery of Manichaean documentary texts, which evidence this living presence and the actual practice of the faith.

Most notable, in this regard, is the substantial archive of Coptic and Greek personal letters recovered from House Three at Ismant el-Kharab, many of which provide evidence of having been written by Manichaeans. The correlation between these, the fragments of Manichaean religious texts from the same site, and the material context excavated by professional archaeologists, provides a first opportunity to study this actuality of the community in the Roman Empire of the fourth century. A further consequence of now knowing how Manichaeans communicated and related to each other, and the specifics of their epistolary conventions, is that it has been possible already to re-classify two previously known documents as Manichaean,[1] with the promise of further such developments in the future. All of this substantially advances our understanding of what it meant to belong to that community, and of how believers constructed their identity especially in relation to Christians. It now becomes apparent how fierce was the struggle between the two religions in their opposing claims upon the gospel.

These points are illustrated by this letter by Besas to his mother, which may very well claim to be the earliest known Manichaean text from the Roman Empire:

To my most honoured mother Maria, (from) Besas, many greetings in God.

Before everything: I pray to the Father, God of Truth, and to the Paraclete Spirit, that they may preserve you in soul and body and spirit; for the body health, for the spirit joy, and for the soul life eternal. And you, if you find someone coming to me, do not hesitate to write to me concerning your

[1] These are the Greek personal letters *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2603 (ed. Harrop (1962)) and *P. Harr.* I 107 (ed. J. Enoch Powell, 1936). For further discussion and references see: Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (2000).

Figure 7.1. General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis)

health so I might hear and rejoice. Do not hesitate to send me the cloak for the pascha festival, and send to me my brother.

Greet my father and my brothers. I pray for your health for many years.[2]

90. The advent of Mani

This is the very important first kephalaion (9. 11–16.31: 'Concerning the Advent of the Apostle'), which is concerned with establishing the authenticity of Mani's role and teaching in terms of the history of revelation. It contains material about Mani's own self-understanding of his divinely ordained evangelical purpose.

The succession of apostles and churches is compared to the continuous cycle of seedtime and harvest. Each new apostle releases the spiritual forms of his church, (the heavenly twin motif that is prevalent in Manichaean thought); and then is sent to earth to sow the seed of his election, at the very moment when the previous church finally ripens to harvest and ascends. Thus, there is no moment when the world is bereft of the means of salvation (see 11.26–7).

This recognition of the authenticity of each cycle of revelation is one of the most striking aspects of Mani's teaching. While Mani is likely to have developed it from the concept of the true prophet, found in his Elchasaite heritage and other

[2] *P. Harr.* 1 107, trans. Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (2000) 118–19. To be dated late 3rd or early 4th C. AD.

Jewish-Christian sects; and it also owes something to Marcion's idea of the renewal of Jesus's true revelation by Paul and himself; nevertheless, the universal application seems to be the product of Mani's particular religious genius. It also, by an historical connection which is not yet clear, may well have influenced the notion of cycles of prophecy that appears in emergent Islam.

The chain of apostles is traced from Sethel, (as in other gnostic teachings), through Enosh and Enoch to Sem. Two figures from Indian tradition are then included, the Buddha and Aurentes (from 'arhant'?); and finally Zarathustra and Jesus. Other Manichaean texts provide similar lists, and the concept was open-ended enough to allow the inclusion of further apostles such as Hermes Trismegistus or Lao-tzu to accord with the missionary expansion of the religion. Nevertheless, while universality is obviously the intention, it is noticeable that only Jesus receives any significant detail or historical context. It is difficult to find evidence that Mani had any real knowledge of the lives and teachings of figures such as the Buddha.

Docetic emphases that can be traced back to Marcion are embedded in the Manichaean accounts of Jesus. This kephalaion is particularly interesting for an understanding of Mani's religious heritage because he follows the chain of apostles from Jesus to Paul, and then to two (?) righteous men in the Christian church (13.30–5). The identity of these figures has been much debated, but are presumably Marcion and perhaps Bardaiṣan.

After the ascent of the church of Jesus Mani's apostolate begins. Thus, the authority of later Christianity is rejected. As he foretold, according to the gospel of John, Jesus sends after him the Paraclete. This is Mani's own Twin-Spirit who reveals to him the totality of truth, the knowledge that Mani will then preach and write in his canonical scriptures. The summary of the essentials of revelation given here (14.27–15.24) is one of the best known from Manichaean texts; and has an almost creedal ring to it. Mani finishes with a brief summary of his missionary journeys, and repeats his claim to direct revelation. His own apostolate is superior to those before him because it has spread throughout the world; and thus it will last till the final judgement and the return of Jesus (16.3–17).

In the framing sequence at the end the disciples are enlightened and thank Mani; and assert that he is the Paraclete. Thus he has become one with his heavenly Twin, 'a single Spirit' (see 15.23–24).

15 The first chapter is this: His disciples questioned him concerning his apostolate and his coming to the world; for how did it happen . . . his journeying in each city, in each land; in what manner was he sent . . . **20** . . . first, before he had yet chosen his church.

The apostle says to them: 'I . . . but I will recount to you . . . Understand, o my beloved ones: All the apostles **25** who are on occasion sent to the world resemble farmers; while their churches, which they choose, are like (the Egyptian months of) Parmuthi and Paophi. For, the way Parmuthi occurs not in all the months of the year; nor does Paophi . . . in all of them. Rather,

the season . . . [30] . . . for it alone, as they know . . . its vegetables . . . the time they are cropped; also the vegetables and the . . . season; and they tend and ripen the pickings, and they . . . to Paophi. Of course, now that farmer **10** . . . Parmuthi; in that, if he will come and sow some corn seed there . . . cereal. And he shall be involved from the beginning . . . a corn seed and toil for it. Yet when the summer comes each year, and his corn comes to the season of its harvest; [5] then the farmer comes forth and harvests it. Even the gardener from the beginning . . . shall toil for his fruits; and he tends them and he . . . and they ripen; and he comes forth and picks them from the tree.

This is the way of the apostles who are come to the world. They are like a . . . of the greatness . . . the season that . . . [10] . . . flesh. Rather, they are sent before . . . before they had yet . . . in the world . . . from the greatness. They . . . to the whole created order; and they choose a selection of the . . . , as they make . . . the elect and the catechumens . . . [15] . . . their forms, and they make them free . . . in the flesh . . . the world . . . to above . . . as he may make his . . . the winter, and he harvests it [20] . . . also tend to the fruit in the summer and the . . . Paophi, and he takes them away.

Also the way . . . many years before . . . the world, as he journeys below to the . . . makes the form of his church free, and . . . [25] . . . of the flesh, whose forms he had made free . . .

Like the farmer, for when he will . . . that moment he shall begin . . . tend . . . it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it . . . toil for the fruits of Paophi . . . [30] . . .

Again, this too is how the apostles . . . from the beginning of the moulding of humanity . . . as I have told you, that when they . . . before every thing he shall . . . free above, first.

Yet, when **11** it will be born in the flesh, he shall come down to it and at once . . . it in the . . . which comes out from the . . . is raised up to the greatness. He shall continue in the world at this time . . . him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his . . . [5] when the season will mature he is raised up from the world . . . and he leaves his church behind (?) and goes forth. Still, he . . . and he helps and aids his church. Whoever comes out from their body after him, he shall become for them a support and a leader; and he goes on before them . . . , [10] excepting the others who are set firmly in the flesh. He is the one who will become for them a helper and a guardian; he shall not take . . . in secret, until his church . . . change it . . . when his church . . . [15] . . . he was raised up after it, and went in to the land of glory. And he rejoices and rests at the last . . .

Like the farmer who shall be glad of heart in . . . he was bringing in (the harvest). Or like the merchant who shall come up from a country with the doubling of his great cargo, and the riches of his [20] trading.

When the apostle will be raised up from the world, he and his church . . . for every apostle . . . in the . . . Since . . . tree, that still is laden with its first fruits [25] . . . , and they are picked; they shall propagate other ones there, and they mature to the season to bring them forth. There is not any time the tree is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them shall propagate other ones there. When they bear these . . . them on the tree; they come up and are brought forth upon its branches. [30] They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. The farmer does not rest at any time from the labour and the pain. At what hour may he cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in Parmuthi! . . . them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall . . . grow up and be picked in the month of Paophi.

[35] The apostles are like this also. Now, **12** when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he and his church, and they depart from the world; at that instant another apostle shall be sent to it, to another church . . . it . . . Yet, first, [5] he shall make the forms of his church free in the heights, as I have told you. When . . . ; again, he too shall come down and appear . . . and he releases his church and saves it from the flesh of sin . . .

The advent of the apostle has occurred at the occasion [10] . . . as I have told you: From Sethel the first born son of Adam up to Enosh, together with Enoch; from Enoch up to Sem the son of Noah; . . . church after it . . . [15] . . . Buddha to the east, and Aurentes, and the other . . . who were sent to the orient; from the advent of Buddha and Aurentes up to the advent of Zarathustra to Persia, the occasion that he came to Hystaspes the king; from the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of Jesus [20] the Christ, the son of greatness.

The advent of Jesus the Christ our master: He came . . . in a spiritual one, in a body . . . as I have told you about him. I . . . him; for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached [25] in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of men.[3] He came below. He manifested in the world in the sect of the Jews. He chose his twelve and his seventy-two. He did the will of his Father, who had sent him to the world. Afterwards, the evil one awoke [30] envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went in to Judas the Iscariot, one among the twelve of Jesus. He accused him before the sect of the Jews, with his kiss. He gave

[3] Phil. 2.7.

him over to the hands of the Jews, and the cohort of the soldiers. The Jews **13** themselves took hold of the son of God. They gave judgement on him by lawlessness, in an assembly. They condemned him by iniquity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cross. They crucified him with some robbers on the cross. [5] They brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave; and after three days he arose from among the dead. He came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. He sent them out through the whole world, that they would preach the greatness. [10] Yet, he himself, he rose up to the heights.

. . . Jesus, his twelve . . . land . . . master . . . [15] . . . them. They were not faint-hearted, nor . . . they were all active . . . they were raised up and rested in the greatness.

. . . while the apostles stood in the world, Paul [20] the apostle reinforced them. He also came forth. He preached . . . He gave power to the apostles. He made them strong . . . the church of the saviour . . . he preached a . . . [25] . . . he too went up and rested in . . .

After Paul the apostle little by little, day after day, all mankind began to stumble. They left righteousness behind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred . . . go on the road which is broad.

[30] At this same time also, in the last church, a righteous man of truth appeared, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced . . . they fortified the church of our master according to their capacity; but they too were raised up to the land of light. After those ones again, little by little, the [35] church perished. The world remained behind without **14** church. Like a tree will be plucked, and the fruits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit.

When the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! (. . . *This passage (14.3–16.2) is here omitted, as it is quoted above as 7*)

16 I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have [5] sown the seed of life. I have . . . them . . . from east to west. As you yourselves are seeing, my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the . . . Not one among the apostles did ever do these things . . . [10] . . . ; because all the apostles who were sent . . . they preached . . . the world . . . (my hope) will remain in the world until (Jesus) . . . [15] . . . his throne in it, and he will make . . . in . . . church, which is the right side, . . . which belongs to the left.

. . . about which you questioned me. Since the Spirit is of the Paraclete, the one who was sent to me from [20] the greatness; what has happened and what will happen has been unveiled to me. For you I have written about it, in full, in my books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated the lesson to you in brief!'

Then, when his disciples heard all these things from him, they rejoiced greatly. [25] Their mind was enlightened. They say to him in their joy: 'We thank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the scriptures, how it came to be; and we have received it and believed in it; still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form. And we, for our parts, have received it in full. We have also believed that you are the [30] Paraclete, this one from the Father, the unveiler of all these hidden things!'

91. On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion

The famous tradition preserved in this kephalaion (no. 151: 370.16–375.15) is found also in a Middle Persian version, quoted above in the introduction to Chapter 3. Whilst part of this text was already presented in the first announcement of the Medinet Madi discovery, the *editio princeps* of the entire piece has only recently been published; and it is this that we provide here with a first English translation (by Iain Gardner). Although it is not properly a 'community' text, we have placed this and the previous text here at the start of chapter 7, as they provide a fitting frame to the advent and success of the Manichaean religion for its followers.

151

Concerning . . . cities are many . . . in the . . .

[20] Once again, one time, a disciple questioned Manichaios. (He says): 'Why, in the prayer, . . . never since this time . . .'

He says to him: 'You, you have . . . You, you have said that [25] . . . the holy church. Now then, . . . church more than these (first) churches that were led astray . . .'

Then the apostle says to them: 'The church that I have [30] chosen is superior in ten aspects over the first churches. So, one: (. . . **371** the apostles) that were sent to them chose a church with much toil. Some of them came in . . . only; others among them have come in . . . alone; and (when) each of them came in, [5] (they chose the) churches that they chose in the places and the cities where they were disclosed. The one who chose his church in the west, his church did not reach to the east; the one who chose his church in

the east, his election did not come to the west. Thus, [10] there are some of them: their name did not display in other cities.

However, my hope, mine: It is provided for it to go to the west and also for it to go to the east; and in every language they hear the voice of its proclamation, and it is proclaimed in all cities. [15] In this first matter my church surpasses the first churches: Because the first churches were chosen according to place, according to city. My church, mine: It is provided for it to go out from all cities, and its good news attains every country.

[20] (The second): My church surpasses in the wisdom and . . . which I have unveiled for you in it. This (immeasurable) wisdom I have written in the holy books, in the great *Gospel* and the other writings; so that it will not be changed after me. Also, the way that I have written it in the books: (This) also is how [25] I have commanded it to be depicted. Indeed, all the (apostles), my brethren who came prior to me: (They did not write) their wisdom in books the way that I, I have written it. (Nor) did they depict their wisdom in the *Picture(-Book)* the way (that I, I have) depicted it. My church surpasses [30] (in this other matter also), for its primacy to the first churches.

(The third: My) church will remain henceforth and be unveiled **372** through the world; because (. . . the first) churches, after they were revealed according to . . . they were stretched, they remained in the world for (a short time) only. Afterwards, they (. . . [5] . . . the apostles went) out from the world; but their churches . . . remained behind them, after them, in their likeness. However, my church, mine: It has attained (its) disclosure and can (not) be hidden from this time on; it has attained its fastness and can not be shaken, continuing [10] on till the end of the world.

The fourth: The writings and the wisdom and the revelations and the parables and the psalms of all the first churches have been collected in every place. They have come down to my church. They have added to the wisdom that I have revealed, [15] the way water might add to water and become many waters. Again, this also is the way that the ancient books have added to my writings, and have become great wisdom; its like was not uttered in all the ancient generations. They did not write nor did they [20] unveil the books the way that I, I have written it.

The fifth: The persecutions and the temptations and the afflictions that the first apostles proclaimed; they themselves prophesise that they are provided to happen to this church. Look: They have happened to it just as is written! (However, it), [25] it has been strong. It has persisted against (all) the temptations; it was not overcome, nor was it thrown back. Happen

you know that the crucifixions and the afflictions, which are different to each; the slaughters that are not like one another; these did not occur in all the churches. They have happened [30] in my church for its primacy to all the other churches.

The sixth: . . . the lesser ones and the ones lacking . . . in the first churches . . . **373** . . . and they were free from . . . that . . . which they . . . come down . . . [5] . . . place of rest . . . my church . . . also, the living ones . . . again it surpasses in this matter the first [10] churches.

The seventh aspect in which it surpasses: This is that, in the great war which is coming in every place the church still exists in the world, this that the whole earth . . . trembles, [15] and it comes about . . . a shaking and a . . . of a great destruction catches all people . . . However, my holy church will be strong; and it . . . in this war . . . it can (not) be overcome . . .

The eighth: In [20] . . . still as my church is set firm . . . ; but . . . the church an affliction . . . [25] . . . persecution and . . . and they were all destroyed . . . However, it too, the church . . . and it is strong and bears up under the afflictions . . . of the false Christ.

The ninth . . . more than the persecutions . . . [30] . . . of the first churches **374** . . . and they . . . his laws . . . [5] . . . of the divinity, and it unveils . . . church will become for them a house . . . [10] However, whoever truly believes can be separated . . . and he makes them pure and sets them apart and masters them; and he makes all the sects strong in it (the church?) and sets them straight. And he himself, he consoles it for all the trickeries and the duplicities. He can nourish it and give it authority [15] over the entire world; and he makes strong in it the lesser ones. And it too, of the ones that are condemned . . . of the church comes about in the entire world; while its confidence exists in the entire . . .

The tenth: . . . [20] . . . church will come to be . . . all the powers . . . either . . . or . . . in the bond . . . [25] Then, at the last, all the likenesses (?) of its depiction . . . will raise it up to the heights again . . . they will give for it according to its heart's will . . . all . . . and its petition. It will . . . will give for it authority over all flesh . . . [30] my church surpasses . . . **375** . . . to it more than the (first) churches . . . forthwith.

Blessed is the person who will (trust in) it and agree with it and remain in it; and he will profit and live in its life and . . . [5] . . . in its primacy. And he will go up and be at rest in the aeon of light.'

(Then, when) his disciples heard these lessons out from the man of light, they say to him: 'How very great then are these lessons that you have uttered to us! How very strong [10] are these in which we again receive light with truth! You have opened our eyes, that this church surpasses by its primacy

over the first churches. We revere you our master, we give you our thanks, for you have explained to us in respect of this prayer about which we asked you; **15** you have taught us about it, what it is.'

92. An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer

Letter (?) by an elect as preserved in the *Tebessa Codex* (Latin).[4]

(Col. 1 (I.1)) . . . of the faithful will not under another judgement[5] because they always go forth justified from here below. However, there are two other groups, namely the catechumens and the gentiles, who will be summoned side by side to the same judgement, but will not obtain the same verdict. For, in truth, the catechumens must be raised up at the end because of (the help) . . . (*Cols. 2 and 3 are missing*)

(Col. 4 (I.2)) . . . they (i.e. the elect) lack the cares of the sects, because they are transitory visitors, and strangers in the world. That is why he commands the rich, who, as we have said, are themselves known as disciples of the second order, to make friends with the elect, who are without these resources, which it is certainly necessary that they abandon here, in return . . .

(Col. 5 (II.1)) . . . to be hampered by private worries and entangled by anxieties. These two ranks, founded on the same faith in the same church, support one another and each gives to the other from their abundant possessions, the elect to the hearers from their heavenly treasure, through which they have been named blessed and happy among those who dwell on earth because of their freedom, and the hearers to the elect . . . (*Cols. 6 and 7 are missing*)

(Col. 8 (II.2)) Consider also the nature of each of these two ranks, shown by the example of the two sisters, of whom one had chosen the most excellent lot, that is the higher rank of the elect; whereas the other, though she carried out the housekeeping and domestic duty, yet (was able) to minister to the manifest (?)[6] disciples.

(Col. 9 (III.1)) It is not without justification that these elect have been termed disciples. Indeed, poor in resources, and few in number, they walk by the narrow way and are destined for the narrow path. For

[4] *Codex Tebestina*, ed. Merkelbach (1988b); Eng. trans. by M. Vermes. The earlier study of P. Alfaric (Alfaric (1920)) also contains an edition and translation of the text; as does the more recent work of J. D. BeDuhn and G. Harrison (BeDuhn and Harrison (1997)). Also useful is Decret (1989).

[5] See John 5.24. [6] Following Alfaric's conjecture of (*a*)*pertis*.

few will enter that way and are the faithful who gain the kingdom of heaven, as it is written: 'In truth, many are called but few are chosen.' (Matt. 22:14)[7]

In the same way that was also said because . . . (*Cols. 10 and 11 are missing*)

(Col. 12 (III.2)) . . . These words I speak, dearly beloved, concern the order of the catechumens,[8] whom elsewhere he clearly means when he says: 'He that receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward.' (Matt. 10:41)

(Col. 13 (IV.1)) . . . that all (those present?) (who followed?) him might hope more to attain the heavenly abodes, and the riches of the good, which, once given, can never be taken away. That is why he commands those who still toil on the land, (. . .) and are married, to seek(?) from the same . . . these friends in the suppliant cry of their voices.[9] (*Cols. 14 and 15 are missing*)

(Col. 16 (IV.2)) Those possessing wealth are called hearers, or rather, as we have said, catechumens, who, since they have made their fortunes in this world, and are still below that rank of the perfect, because they possess wealth, are referred to by the term 'mammon' in the Gospel. This is why the saviour and lord uses the same speech in addressing them: 'Make friends for yourselves (of mammon . . .).' (Luke 16:9)

(Col. 17 (V.1)) However, the catechumens who had difficulty in achieving the level of election stayed in their homes; but they helped the elect and, receiving them under their roofs and into their own homes, they provided them with the necessities of life. These two ranks of the church thus always . . .

(Col. 20 (V.2)) . . . not to destroy[10] the dignity of the elect, but to make the hearers acknowledge also the rule and the law of their order, that is to say of the church and of the apostles, and the church's two ranks and . . . They were all (divided?) into the two-fold names of the people. All the disciples were (called) . . .

(Col. 21 (VI.1)) ('. . . if any would not work, neither should he eat.')(?) (2Thess. 3:10)[11] Should not that also (apply to the elect?) However, I affirm

[7] Or: 'few are the elect'; Latin 'electi' carries both meanings.

[8] I.e. hearers, see below Col. 16 (IV.2).

[9] Following Alfaric's conjecture of *prae-*(*conio suppli*)*ci*. Merkelbach prefers *prae-*(*sidium*), which provides no construction for *vocum*, unless that depended on the next line.

[10] Following Merkelbach's conjecture of *des*(*tru*)*ens*.

[11] Alfaric here reconstructs three very fragmentary lines. It is not clear that the ensuing argument depends necessarily on this quotation.

that that does not so much concern the order of these perfect ones who, renouncing the world, have citizenship in heaven; but those who are still settled in the world and are immersed in the same knowledge as the perfect ones . . . (*Cols. 22–3 are missing*)

(Col. 24 (VI.2)) . . . (is said of those people)(?) who, as they are unable to carry out and fulfil these precepts to the letter, (choose the less perfect)(?) of these two (orders of disciples).

That which I mentioned above, dearly beloved, on the subject of the apostle[12] and of the task which he(?) must accomplish (in order to eat)(?)[13] . . .

(Col. 25 (VII.1)) . . . to sketch out: 'For you yourselves are still carnal.' (1 Cor. 3:1) In the same way he says to them too, I think rightly:[14] 'No man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us to the glory of the lord. We attend to that which is good not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men.' (2 Cor. 8:20–1) Therefore when he says: 'of this abundance is administered . . .'

(Col. 28 (VII.2)) He warns when he says: 'This is a faithful saying, and these things I want you to commit to memory, that those who believe in God should be careful to maintain good works.' (Titus 3:8)

Here you see that he commands for the faithful 'the maintenance of works'; and as 'good works' he sometimes names (?) the apostolate,[15] sometimes calling (?) it his 'soldiery', more often his 'ministry', occasionally his 'career', and sometimes his 'toil' and . . .

(Col. 29 (VIII.1)) And he also says to them: 'We have sent with him the brother, whose praise is not only in the preaching of the gospel throughout all the churches but who furthermore has been appointed by the churches as (our) companion in this charitable work which we are accomplishing for the glory of God.' (2 Cor. 8:18–19)

And so, therefore, when a collaborator offered his services to him in a secular task . . . (*Cols. 30 and 31 are missing*)

(Col. 32 (VIII.2)) He says to the Ephesians: 'Walk as children of light, for the fruit of the light is in all righteousness and goodness, approving what is acceptable unto God. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of

[12] I.e. the apostle Paul. [13] Following Alfaric's conjecture of *u*(*t manducet*).

[14] Alternatively these words introduce the following quotation, i.e.: 'I think it right that . . .' However, they do not belong to the quotation itself.

[15] This translation accepts Alfaric's readings in lines 11 and 13, but with reservations. There would appear to be a feminine noun missing in line 11 rather than the verb *nominat;* his own version takes *ipsam* in line 10 with his conjectured *apostolatum* in line 12, but that noun is masculine.

darkness, but rather reprove them.' (Eph. 5:8–11) What therefore because here under its own name . . .

(Col. 33 (IX.1)) . . . the apostle practised (?). He mentions it also when he writes to Timothy to instruct him on the subject of widows and women in distress: 'Now she who is a widow indeed, and desolate, let her hope in the lord, and continue in prayers and supplications night and day. For she that lives in pleasures is dead while she is alive.' (1 Tim. 5:5–7) . . . Still . . . (*Cols. 34–35 are missing*)

(Col. 36 (IX.2)) He adds to the Corinthians: 'I make these commands not to throw on you a sort of snare, but so that you may conduct yourselves honourably and be united without division.' (1 Cor. 7:35)

Similarly, he writes to the Colossians: 'Be thankful and perfect. Let the peace and word of Christ dwell in you, as you teach in all wisdom and admonish one another in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs.' (Col. 3.15–16)

(Col. 37 (X.1)) 'Those who are like this we command and beseech by Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread; but you, brethren, be not weary in doing well.' (2 Thess. 3:12–13)

Even among those to whom the apostle was 'ministering' there were some who did the opposite (?), not carrying out the 'task' of which he approved, (but abandoning themselves to)(?) idleness. (*Cols. 38 and 39 are missing*)

(Col. 40 (X.2)) (When) he (calls?) his fellow soldiers or collaborators in business, he remembers those who were associated with and participants in the 'toil' of this mission. For he says to the Thessalonians: 'And we beseech you, brethren, to know those who labour among you, and are over you in the lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them more highly in love . . .' (1 Thess. 5:12–13)

(Col. 41 XI.1)) 'Because I have not run for nothing, nor laboured in vain.' (Phil. 2.16) You therefore see that here he claims to have 'laboured' and 'run'. Should we therefore find in this a physical meaning? Far from it. He shows that he devoted himself and 'laboured' continually to make the sons 'shine like lights in the world, (carrying within) them the word of (life).' (*Cols. 42 and 43 are missing*)

(Col. 44 (XI.2)) . . . that we may be (affectionate towards them?), that we may keep them in the faith, in exchange for which they will provide us with that assistance.

Similarly, the apostle says to the Philippians (2:12–14): 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God who works in you that you both want to work and make yourselves perfect because of his good will. Do everything without grumblings.'

(Col. 45 (XII.1)) He exhorts the Thessalonians (?) to provide (nonetheless?) assistance for the saints. In this task he maintains that he has never been idle. Even in the (stillness?) of the night he did not spare himself from earning this tribute (?), for fear (?) that one of his number would accuse him of taking the bread from his mouth (?).[16] (*Cols. 46 and 47 are missing*)

However, to (distract) his people from all works of the flesh, he abstained from . . .

(Col. 48 (XII.2)) . . . Let us dwell (?) in God's holy house, that is to say in the holy church. Let us be led(?) to the lord by spiritual things, refusing all things of the flesh. (Let us strive?) towards the peace (of the just?). Thus we shall (receive?) the eternal crown which he promises to all those who choose the spiritual life(?) . . .[17]

(Col. 49 (XIII.1)) . . . for him to reproduce (?) through wickedness, lest he might be dispersed (?) by the labour of propagation.

Finally, he says to these same Thessalonians, among whom he has said that he worked: 'I have laboured night and day' and again: 'We preached unto you the gospel of God. You are witnesses, and God also . . .' (1 Thess. 2:9–10)

(Col. 52 (XIII.2)) . . . may become (saved) by that work . . . will fly to . . . holy . . . to work than if he called his fellow soldier and (apostle?) by various ways . . .

(*Cols. 53 (XIV.1) and 54 (XIV.2) are too fragmentary for coherent translation*)

93. A father instructs his young son

This Coptic letter (*P. Kell.* V Copt. 19) was written probably in the 350s, or soon after, by a certain Makarios to his 'longed-for' son Matheos (as is stated on the address). It belongs to an archive of family letters recovered by the archaeological excavations during the early 1990s in House 3 at Ismant el-Kharab (the Roman period village of Kellis in the Dakhleh oasis). This particular family archive may well have been preserved by Maria, wife of Makarios and mother to Matheos (variously spelt Matthaios) and his brother Piene, as most of the letters are written to her (she never appears as an author) in Kellis by her husband or her sons whilst they are in 'Egypt' (i.e. the Nile valley). However, in the present letter we find Makarios writing to his son when he is still at home with his mother (note that Makarios starts to address his wife as he proceeds), and one imagines that he is still rather young.

[16] This passage is severely mutilated, and the translation depends heavily on Alfaric's reconstruction.

[17] Once again this translation depends on Alfaric's reconstruction, which he himself describes as 'plus laborieuse . . . et plus conjecturale'.

Figure 7.2. Manichaean psalms from Kellis

The text itself is laboriously written, presumably by the father himself (rather than the usual practice of using a professional scribe). The family are fervent Manichaean believers, and here Mani is himself quoted in his spiritual persona as the 'Paraclete'. The fragmentary central section of the text has been omitted in this translation.

(To) my son, my loved one who is greatly honoured by me: The child of righteousness; the one whose good reputation is in my mouth at every moment, whose witness is permanent in my heart; the name sweet in my mouth, my beloved son Matheos.

Before everything: I greet you. I remember your gentleness and your calm, and the example of your . . . propriety; for all this time I have been without you, I have been asking after you and hearing of your good reputation. Also, when I came to you, I found you correct as you have always been. This too is the (right) way. Now, be in worthy matters; just as the Paraclete has said: 'The disciple of righteousness is found with the fear of his teacher upon him (even) while he is far from him.' Like guardians (?). Do likewise, my loved one; so that I may be grateful for you and God too may be grateful for you, and you will be glorified by

a multitude of people. Do not acquire fault or mockery for your good conduct.

Study (your) psalms, whether Greek or Coptic, <every> day (?) . . . Do not abandon your vow. Here, the *Judgement of Peter* is with you. (Do the) *Apostolos*; or else master the *Great Prayers* and the Greek *Psalms*. Here too, the *Sayings* are with you: study them! Here are the *Prostrations*. Write a little from time to time, more and more. Write a daily example, for I need you to write books here. Do not be like the other one who came to question (?) when he was about to receive instruction about . . . everything.

When you are going to come, bring (a . . .) and a good remedy. Bring your two black . . . , bring it. If possible, bring one for Gena too; for (we will) be grateful for everything . . . If you have cut the garment . . . send it to him with sandals and my cloak. (Indeed), if there is the hard mat, send it with a cushion. Bring your . . . mat and your mattress; so, make the twists on the cover (?) . . .

(To) my sister Maria: You sent me . . . , you sent the two garments by way of Pshai . . . (text omitted)

Greet (for me my) daughter Drousiane. Greet for me my daughter Tshemnoute, and (my) daughter Kame. Greet warmly for me my sister Isi-, and my sister Mo(- . . .) and my sister Kame, and my mother Talaphanti with her children. Greet "the woman within" and her children. Tell them that I myself am very grateful to them, and God is my witness that . . . all in my prayers and my supplications. I (remember) you very very much, praying for your health . . . night and day; just as I see you are zealous, whether I am far (from you) or near to you.

Greet for me my sister Charis and . . . and her children by name, and my brother Philammon . . . and Pion. Greet for me my mother Tskmshai . . . and her daughter Kouria. If Drousiane will be able to go and tell Kouria, perhaps she will give something. Let her go. Greet for me Lamou, and his mother and his father, and Tapshai. Greet for me my mother Partheni and Pena, and all in Thio.

And you, my son Matheos, when you are about to write a letter, write it well; so that we shall find that you have written about the matter . . . he did not (?) . . . letter to him in my name. Write, perhaps he will give something else to us . . .

If my mother Kouria will give the great *(Book of) Epistles*, bring it with you. If not, bring the small one, with the *Prayer-Book* and the *Judgement of Peter*.

Amou greets you all. I Gena, who am with the one who writes this letter, I greet you warmly . . . I greet you my brother (and) my master Matheos,

and my mother Maria, and my brother Atre-, and my brother A-e, and my brother -aeis, and my mother Charis, and . . .

94. The son writes to his mother

This letter (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 25) belongs to the same family archive as the preceding. Matthaios is now presumably somewhat older; and he too is working in the Nile valley (like his father Makarios), from where he writes to Maria in Kellis. From this letter, and others in the archive, we learn that his brother Piene has been given to the entourage of the 'Teacher', i.e. the highest Manichaean church leader in Egypt. Elsewhere we discover that Piene is being taught Latin, and that he follows the teacher to Alexandria (Rakote), which is presumably the church's seat in Egypt. Thus one must suppose that Piene will join the ranks of the elect, and is being groomed for evangelical work. The practice of lay families giving a child to the church was well established in Manichaeism, and indeed counted as one of the essential religious acts of the catechumenate (see **74**, kephalaion 80). This letter provides a wonderful example of lay piety, and of the ties that bound all levels of the Manichaean community.

(To) my mother, my loved lady, very precious to me, the beloved of my heart: The one whose memory and worthy motherhood are sealed in my heart every hour; the one whose kindnesses and goodness that she performs for me at all times are sealed in my inmost thought. My mother, very precious to me, Maria. It is I, your son; in the lord God, – greetings.

Before everything I greet you warmly, my lady mother; with my brothers, my masters whose names are very precious to me at all times, every day and every hour. This is my prayer to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved Son the Christ, and his Holy Spirit, and his light angels: That he will watch over you together, you being healthy in your body, joyful in heart and rejoicing in soul and spirit, all the time we will pass in the body, free from any evil and any temptation by Satan and any sickness of the body. And furthermore (I pray) that this great day of joy should happen to us, the (day) for which we pray indeed every hour, and God grant us that we may see the image of each other in freedom and with a smiling face. Or indeed: whether they are dreams (?) or whether it is the sphere . . . ; or else again: perhaps they change and cast us once again towards you, and we will be satisfied with the face of all our beloveds. Would therefore that this may happen to us!

When I found the opportunity of my father Pseke and my father Pishai coming to you (pl.), I hastened to write and inform you about our health and the condition we are in; while I have already written another letter and added it to the letters of my father. I have also sent the medicines to

you (fem. sg.) through them, bound with the letters of my father. I have put 135 grains there. I have also written: 'Take the 100 for you.' They are necessities. It was some friends who gave them to me; they are doctors.

Now, since you have written: 'Tell me about how you are'; as for myself, the Teacher left me in Antinoou, but my brother he took to follow after him. I am thinking that perhaps he will come from the north (?) and leave him (Piene) some place. Should he again leave him, you will know. For he (the Teacher) loves him (Piene) very much, and makes him read in church. Now, if he depends (?) on him, and the child is content following him, it will be his glory.

Thus, I have been here in Antinoou since the day when the Teacher came south; (and) I have been unable to find a way to go . . . , nor to visit my father, because they are mourning in the city for the blessed soul of my great mother. We are remembering her very much. And I was distressed that she died when we were not with her, and that she died without finding the brotherhood gathered around her. Do not neglect to write to us about your health.

I pray for your health, ladies, for many years.

And I am astonished that, (although) I wrote: 'Write me the name of the daughter of Maria, what you are calling her, or the son of Partheni'; you have not written it!

Are you afraid lest he will become scorched on the mountain; or are you afraid lest . . . to them? It is in God's power (to grant that) they have a long life.

Greet for me they who are with you . . . ; especially my lady sister Tjmshai, and my father Pshai and his wife and his children. Greet for me Pakosh and Pamour and their children and their brothers, each by name. Greet for me my father Philammon and my mother Charis, with their sons and daughters, each by name. Greet for me Hatre and his wife and his children. Greet for me Jemnoute, with her children and her husband. Greet for me Phila and her husband. Greet for me my father Pshempnoute and my mother Kyria . . . Greet for me Jemnoute . . . children. Greet for me my mother Tamouienia. Greet for me . . . and his mother and . . . Greet for me Isi and . . . Greet for me Marshe and her brothers, each by name, and their children and their whole house. Greet for me my mother Tashai and her children. Greet for me my mother Talaphanti and her children and her whole house. Greet for me my mother Louiepshai and her whole house and her children. Greet for me my brother Andreas, with his whole house and his people. Greet for me everyone who wishes our word. Live and be healthy for me a long time. I am praying to God for this.

95. An elect encourages a sick catechumen

In this letter (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 32) it is difficult to distinguish the spiritual from the practical. However, we presume that the author is an elect rather than family; and we are inclined to suppose that at least some of the images, such as to laying 'the foundation of your house', refer to spiritual growth rather than to material realities. Certainly, the piece is written in a highly educated style, with an astonishing use of gospel allusions. The interpretation of the 'treasure in heaven' with reference to the sun and the moon makes the Manichaean authorship absolutely certain.

(To) our loved daughter: The daughter of the holy church, the catechumen of the faith; the good tree whose fruit never withers, which is your love that emits radiance every day. She who has acquired for herself her riches and stored them in the treasuries that are in the heights, where moths shall not find a way, nor shall thieves dig through to them to steal; which (storehouses) are the sun and the moon. She whose deeds resemble her name, our daughter, Eirene. It is I, your father who writes to you; in God, – greetings!

I greet <you> warmly with love, God-loving, good-loving; I am praying that you (fem. sg.) may continue in health of the body, and gladness of the spirit, and joy of the soul, until we see you (pl.) again.

Furthermore, I write, giving you the remembrance that you . . . for the matter is fine, until I come up. Once you have laid the foundation of your house, fight in every way to put on its coping that you may be at ease therein for ever. Do the work and mix the warp (?) until I come. If you have oil standing, give a *chous* to our brother; let him send it to me, or two naturally (?). If also there is wheat, give him eighteen *maje*; until we meet one another and settle our account. Just fight in every way to complete the work, for a person knows not at what hour the thief will come to dig through to the house. Indeed, I have heard that you are sick: since some days. I am grieving; but, praise God, they say that you are getting better. There is no health without your health! Live in God, our beloved daughter.

96. An elect writes to ask for alms

This (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 31) has the appearance of some kind of circular letter, where the author does not seem to actually know (on a personal level) the people to whom he writes. These daughters 'of the Light Mind', (this distinctively Manichaean divinity confirms the religious context), must be catechumens in Kellis; and it is interesting that their 'fame', even allowing for extravagancies of style, is known to members of the community in the Nile valley. Unfortunately, part of the lower half of the papyrus is missing, which causes the breaks in the text; but the allusions

to difficulties may refer to persecution, and the final instructions about what to do with the letter itself point to security concerns for adherents of the faith.

My loved daughters, who are greatly revered by me: The members of the holy church, (the daughters) of the Light Mind, they who (also are numbered) with the children of God; the favoured, blessed, God-loving souls; my women children. It is I, your father who is in Egypt, who writes to you; in the lord, – greetings!

Before everything: I greet you warmly, and your children together, each by their name. I am praying to God every hour that he will guard you for a long time, free from anything evil of the wicked world: You being for us helpers, and worthy *patrons*, and firm unbending pillars; while we ourselves rely upon you.

Indeed, when I heard about your good, God-loving fame; I rejoiced greatly. I was very grateful to you, ten million times! (Whether) we are far or (we are near): indeed, we have found remembrance among (you). Now, therefore, may it stay with you: This knowledge and this faith (which you have) known and believed in.

Therefore, (I) beg you, (my) blessed (daughters), that you will (send) me two *choes* of oil. For (you) know yourselves that we are (in need) here; since we are afflicted. (Send) the portion of oil. Indeed, when I came . . . I was confident that you (would find the time) to send them to me. (I hope) that you will do it, like (everything) you do (. . . them) with certainty . . . . at all. Do not . . . and send them to my son . . . letter to you with (certainty . . . Write) to me quickly . . . . that he may send . . . with certainty. (. . . so that (?)) he may understand. Do not (. . .) for the place is (very) difficult.

(Live and) be healthy for a (long time according to) our prayers.

He will send them to me with certainty. Do your . . . very bad. Let them not envy you . . . especially my daughter . . . this letter to you. When you have finished reading it, send it to my son with certainty. Do not let it stay with you, it may fall into somebody's hands. Indeed, what is even this constraint!

97. A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague

The author of this text (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 35) appears to be a professional scribe, who precedes his actual letter by writing out a spell that he hopes will be helpful to his colleague. Of course, 'magical' activities were forbidden by Mani; but, as with all religions, this did not stop adherents from resorting to popular practice on occasion. In this letter it is the invocation by the author of the 'Paraclete', i.e. Mani himself, which makes his religious allegiance known to us.

As regards the spell itself, there is nothing Manichaean about this. It belongs to a category that we can call 'mustard curses', and gives instructions about how to drive a wedge between two lovers. In the letter that follows, the author refers to various people and work contracts with which he and his recipient are involved. Whilst the lack of context makes the details difficult to follow, they seem to be working as professional scribes in some kind of collective situation. However, one can only speculate about what precisely this involved.

I call upon you:
the one who has been from the beginning;
the one sitting above the Cheroubin and Sarouphin;
the one who stands (in judgement) over disputes and quarrels;
the one who has stopped the winds with his great power!
Just as you made the land of Egypt lord, you cast quarrels over the Chaldeans. It is upon you (pl.) that I utter these names, by (?) . . . who generates (?), who is black. Let "so and so" the son of "so and so", let their heart be black for each other. O dirty (?) natron of Arabia! Just as you will wash away every thing, (so) you can wash (away) the desire which is between them for each other. And you, (who are) the burning of the mustard, you shall put burning and scorching into their heart for each other. The house in which I will place you (sg.), do not come out from it without having instigated dispute and quarrel and thunder.

And four-times (speak) the other (man's name); four-times (speak) her (name); four-times (recite it all) again; four-times you shall utter these words upon them.

It is complete.

I greet you warmly. I pray for your continuing health, until I embrace you once again in person and my joy be complete. I swear to you by our lord Paraclete and the knowledge of truth: This is what I have found near me, and I have hastened to write it and send it to you; for the other one is written on a small fragment of papyrus, and I did not find it. Should I find it, I will send it to you; I for my part knowing that it will not be brought to brother Kallikles, I am sending. Be satisfied, for it is with my own hand that I wrote this. I have sent it, saying: 'Perhaps you need it'.

I beg you, my lord brother: If you can write these tetrads for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you too; so that you can know where they have reached. Look out (?) (whether) he has not been negligent writing them. Quickly, you send them to me by a blessed one; for they say: 'We want someone else to write the other ones.' Now,

do not neglect to send them quickly. By no means! I did it for the great texts; (but it is) because they say that the papyrus has run out. Still, writing is what is useful; and if you do write them, I for my part will find your recompense. I am no fool!

Greet warmly for me those who give you peace of mind in word and deed. Anything you want here, order me (and) I will do it rejoicing.

Live and be healthy for a long time; my master, my brother.

98. Horion discusses preparations for the agape

There are a number of references to the *agape* amongst the Manichaean community texts deriving from ancient Kellis. In earliest Christianity the term referred originally to the communal thanksgiving meal; but it rapidly became separated from the increasingly ritualised eucharist itself, and then took on the more individual connotation of an act of giving or sponsorship for a particular purpose (e.g. a charity meal for the poor as an act of contrition). The question arises as to what its meaning would have been for the fourth-century Manichaeans. Since it is only the elect who can 'purify the world' by their fasts and daily sacred meal, and since to offer food to the impure must be a sin against the light soul, one can only conclude that the *agape* is a gift to the elect for their table (τράπεζα). The allusions in the following text (*P. Kell.* v. Copt. 15) should be read in conjunction with those in an associated letter between the same author and recipient (*P. Kell.* v. Copt. 17), where Horion comments: 'For we take in much oil for the *agape*, in that we are many, and they consume much oil.' The Manichaean setting is made certain by naming of the 'Light Mind', and this is reinforced by the greetings to 'the elect and the catechumens'.

(To) my brother, my master; the loved one of my soul and my spirit. The child of righteousness, the good limb of the Light Mind. The name which is sweet in my mouth, my beloved brother Hor. It is I, Horion; in the lord God, – greetings.

There is no measuring the joy that came to me when I received your letter; all the more, for I learned about your health. I brought (?) . . . everything concerning my father. I have hurried writing to you of these two matters; while I greet your gentleness and your immutable, never changing love.

I have received the *agon*[18] of oil from our son Raz. Look, I left it (with them) for the *agape*, like you said. You also write: 'Buy 6 *maje* of wheat'. I will buy them (at) 1200 to the *artaba*; thus: 705 *nummi* for these 6 *maje*. I have also received the *jlge* from our son Pateni (?). Look, I filled it and sent it by way of Raz. As you receive it, write to me. Do not bother (?) yourself

[18] The *agon*, *maje*, *artab* and *jlge* are all measures / containers; whilst the *nummi* are a currency unit. The 1200 refers to talents, and this price for wheat confirms a date ca. AD 355–70.

about the *agape*. I will do it, rejoicing. Yes, our brother Pakous is south of the ditch, harvesting. If he does not come by that day, I will send his share south to him.

Greet warmly for me they who give you rest, the elect and the catechumens, each one by name. Greet our father Kele. Our son Aetios greets you warmly. Our mother Taese greets you and all who are in the house. Be well and live for a long time my beloved brother, until we see one another again and my joy is complete.

List and concordance of texts

For the abbreviations used in this list, see the List of Abbreviations; works cited by author and date are listed in the Bibliography. Where it is not listed here, details of editions used may be found in the relevant entry. It should be noted that in the Concordance literary texts which survive on papyrus or parchment (principally from Egypt and Turfan), even if complete codices, are listed in Section (i), rather than in Section (ii), which is reserved for texts which have survived in the manuscript tradition.

LIST OF TEXTS

1 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 327–8
2 *CMC* fr.1 and 1–5.13
3 *CMC* 5.14–14.2
4 *CMC* 18.1–72.7
5 *CMC* 72.8–106.23
6 *CMC* 107.1–147.2
7 *Keph.* 14.3–16.2
8 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 328
9 *Keph.* 183.10–188.29
10 *Hom.* 42.9–50.17
11 M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949–50
12 *Hom.* 50.19–60.2
13 M5569 (T II 79), *MM* III,§c, pp. 860–2
14 *Hom.* 60.2–67.32
15 *Hom.* 67.34–70.34
16 *Hom.* 71.2–73.34
17 M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9
18 *PsBk2.* 14.18–20.17 (Psalms 225–6)
19 *Hom.* 74.8–78.30
20 *Hom.* 79.1–85.34

21 (a) M2 R I 1–33, *MM* II, 301–2
(b) M216c R 8–V 13, *KG* §2.5 (170–87), p. 26
(c) So. 18220 (=T.M. 389a), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41

22 (a) So. 18223 (=T.M. 389c) + So. 18222 (T.M. 389c), *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5
(b) P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99)

23 *P.Rylands Greek* 469.12–42

24 Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § 1–11

25 *Collatio Mosaicarum* XV.3

26 'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. Ad Tim. Ii*, 3.6–7, 2

27 Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes*, 9.9a

28 *Verba Seniorum* XIII.11, *PL* 73.945

29 *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* X.30–5 (191–225)

30 Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq), *Annales*, ed. Breydey (1985), 83

31 Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the Marriage Feast of Cana*, ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8

32 Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–91

33 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz (1939) 22.22–23.2

34 Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b)

35 Augustine, *Confessiones* III.vi.10; x.18; xii.21; v.iii.3; vii.12–13; x.18–xiii.23

36 Augustine, *de moribus Manichaeorum* XX(74)

37 Secundinus, *epistula ad Augustinum*, ed. Zycha, 893–901

38 Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15

39 Augustine, *ep.* 236.1, 3

40 Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.9–10

41 *CT* XVI.5.7; XVI.7.3; XVI.5.11

42 *CJ* I.5.11; I.5.12

43 *CJ* I.5.15

44 *Keph.* 5.21–33; 6.15–27; 355.4–25

45 (a) *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 336
(b) S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. ll. 57–69

46 *CMC* 65.23–68.5; 68.5–69.8; 69.9–70.9
(a) M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 184 and 186–90
(b) M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90

47 Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 2, 5 and *de natura Boni* 44

48 Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, ed. Brière, 148.23–5; 150.8–10; 152.14–16; 152.20–3; 154.7–18; 154.22–3; 154.26–156.8; 162.6–13; 164.10–27; 164.28–166.15; 174.3–8

49 Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV.5–6

50 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel 336–7
51 *CMC* 64.1–65.22
52 *P.Kell.* s.n. (Mani's Epistles)
53 Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 30; *c. Fel.* 1.1, 16, 17, 19, 2.1; *de natura Boni* 42, 46; *c. Sec.* 20; Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 5; 11; 28
54 Augustine, *contra Julianum opus imperfectum*, III, 172.1–12, 186.2–11, 37–42, 47–9, 53–9
55 *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam*, ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum, PG* 86.904A (= Adam (1969) §13, p. 33); *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 64 (= Adam (1969) §14, p. 33); *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum*. ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 91, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35-36; *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 41
56 *PsBk2*. 9.3–11.32 (Psalm 223)
57 Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § II–V
58 *Acta Archelai* 25.3–31.8 (VII–XIII)
59 Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.1–8, 11–19
60 *Keph*. 34.13–36.26
61 *P.Kell.* s.n. ('The Prayer of the Emanations')
62 *PsBk2*. 205.10–207.16
63 *Keph*. 30.12–34.12
64 *Keph*. 102.13–104.20
65 *Keph*. 85.19–86.17
66 *Keph*. 166.31–169.22
67 *Keph*. 89.18–102.12
68 *Keph*. 36.27–37.27
69 Augustine, *c. Faust*. XX.2; XX.11
70 *PsBk2*. 187.2–36
71 *Hom*. 7.8–8.30; 9.19–27; 14.16–31; 27.28–29.18; 35.11–42.8
72 *Keph*. 302.17–303.15; 337.10–338.18; 340.20–341.24; 348.12–27
73 Shenoute, 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' (Paris, BN Copte 131[4] f.158b)
74 *Keph*. 192.3–193.22
75 *Keph*. 37.28–42.23
76 Augustine, *de mor. Manich*. X.19; XVIII.65
77 Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8
78 *PsBk2*. 7.11–9.1 (Psalm 222)
79 *Keph*. 191.9–192.3

80 *PsBk2*. 141.1–143.34
81 (a) Augustine, *ep*. 236.2
(b) Aug., *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.12
82 Augustine, *de mor. Manich*. XV.36
83 *PsBk2*. 54.7–55.15 (Psalm 246)
84 *PsBk2*. 162.21–163.32
85 *Keph*. 291.4–295.8
86 *Keph*. 155.30–156.34
87 *PsBk2*. 151.4–152.9
88 *PsBk2*. 115.4–116.23
89 *T.Kell*. Copt. 2, A5
90 *Keph*. 9.11–16.31
91 *Keph*. 370.16–375.15
92 *Tebessa Codex* cols 1–52
93 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 19
94 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 25
95 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 32
96 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 31
97 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 35
98 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 15

CONCORDANCE

(i) Papyri, parchments, etc.

(A) GREEK

CMC fr.1 and 1–5.13	**2**
CMC 5.14–14.2	**3**
CMC 18.1–72.7	**4**
CMC 64.1–65.22	**51**
CMC 65.23–68.5; 68.5–69.8; 69.9–70.9	**46**
CMC 72.8–106.23	**5**
CMC 107.1–147.2	**6**
P.Rylands Greek 469.12–42	**23**
P.Kell. s.n. ('The Prayer of the Emanations')	**61**

(B) LATIN

Tebessa Codex cols. 1–52	**92**

(c) coptic

Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the Marriage Feast of Cana*, ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8	**31**
Hom. 7.8–42.8, *passim*	**71**
Hom. 42.9–50.17	**10**
Hom. 50.19–60.2	**12**
Hom. 60.2–67.32	**14**
Hom. 67.34–70.34	**15**
Hom. 71.2–73.34	**16**
Hom. 74.8–78.30	**19**
Hom. 79.1–85.34	**20**
Keph. 5.21–33; 6.15–27; 355.4–25	**44**
Keph. 9.11–16.31	**90**
Keph. 14.3–16.2	**7**
Keph. 30.12–34.12	**63**
Keph. 34.13–36.26	**60**
Keph. 36.27–37.27	**68**
Keph. 37.28–42.23	**75**
Keph. 85.19–86.17	**65**
Keph. 89.18–102.12	**67**
Keph. 102.13–104.20	**64**
Keph. 155.30–156.34	**86**
Keph. 166.31–169.22	**66**
Keph. 183.10–188.29	**9**
Keph. 191.9–192.3	**79**
Keph. 192.3–193.22	**74**
Keph. 291.4–295.8	**85**
Keph. 302.17–303.15; 337.10–338.18; 340.20–341.24; 348.12–27	**72**
Keph. 370.16–375.15	**91**
P.Kell. s.n. (Mani's Epistles)	**52**
P.Kell. v Copt. 15	**98**
P.Kell. v Copt. 19	**93**
P.Kell. v Copt. 25	**94**
P.Kell. v Copt. 31	**96**
P.Kell. v Copt. 32	**95**
P.Kell. v Copt. 35	**97**
P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99)	**22(b)**
PsBk2. 7.11–9.1	**78**
PsBk2. 9.3–11.32	**56**

PsBk2. 14.18–20.17 **18**
PsBk2. 54.7–55.15 **83**
PsBk2. 115.4–116.23 **88**
PsBk2. 141.1–143.34 **80**
PsBk2. 151.4–152.9 **87**
PsBk2. 162.21–163.32 **84**
PsBk2. 187.2–36 **70**
PsBk2. 205.10–207.16 **62**
Shenoute, 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' (Paris, BN Copte 131[4]f.158b) **73**
T.Kell. Copt. 2, A5 **89**

(d) middle persian

M2 R I 1–33, MM II, 301–2 **21(a)**
M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949-50 **11**
M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 184 and 186–90 **46(a)**
M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90 (Mid. Pers./Sogd. diglottal) **46(b)**

(e) sogdian

M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90 (Mid. Pers/Sogd. diglottal) **46(b)**
So. 18220 (=T.M. 389α), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41 **21(c)**
So. 18223 (=T.M. 389c) + So. 18222 (T.M. 389c), *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5 **22(a)**

(f) parthian

M216c R 8–V 13, *KG* §2.5 (170-87), p. 26 **21(b)**
M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9 **17**
M5569 (T II 79), *MM* III,§c, pp. 860–2 **13**

(h) chinese

S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. lines 57–69 **45(b)**

(ii) Literary and sub-literary texts

(a) greek

Acta Archelai 25.3–31.8 (VII–XIII) **58**
Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § I–II **24**

Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § II–V **57**
CJ I.5.II; I.5.I2 **42**
CJ I.5.I5 **43**
Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz (1939), 22.22–3.2 **33**
Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes*, 9.9a **27**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam*, ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum*, PG 86.904A (= Adam (1969), §13, p. 33) **55**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907) 64 (= Adam (1969), §14, p. 33) **55**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum*. ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 9I, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35–36
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam ap. Diekamp* (ed.), (1907), 4I **55**
Historia Monachorum in Aegypto X.30–35 **29**
Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–9I **32**
Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b) **34**

(B) LATIN

'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. ad Tim.* II, 3.6–7, 2 **26**
Augustine, *Confessiones* III.VI.I0; X.I8; XII.2I; V.III.3; VII.I2–I3; X.I8–XIII.23 **35**
Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, II, I2, I3, I5, 30 **53**
Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8 **77**
Augustine, *c. Fel.* I.I, I6, I7, I9, 2.I **53**
Augustine, *c. Fel.* 2.5 **47(a)**
Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV.5–6 **49**
Augustine, *c. Faust.* XX.2; XX.II **69**
Augustine, *contra Julianum opus imperfectum* III, I72.I–I2, I86.2–II, 37–42, 47–9, 53–59 **54**
Augustine, *c. Sec.* 20 **53**
Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.I–8, II–I9 **59**
Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.9–I0 **40**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* X.I9; XVIII.65 **76**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* XV.36 **82**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* XX (74) **36**
Augustine, *de natura Boni* 44 **47(b)**
Augustine, *de natura Boni* 42, 46 **53**
Augustine, *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.I2 **81(b)**

Augustine, *ep.* 236.1, 3 **39**
Augustine, *ep.* 236.2 **81(a)**
Collatio Mosaicarum XV.3 **25**
CT XVI.5.7; XVI.7.3; XVI.5.II **41**
Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 5; II; 28 **53**
Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15 **38**
Secundinus, *ep. ad Augustinum*, ed. Zycha, 893–901 **37**
Verba Seniorum XIII.II (= PL 73.945) **28**

(C) SYRIAC

Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, passim **48**

(D) ARABIC

Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq), *Annales*, ed. Breydey (1985), 83. **30**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 327–8 **1**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 328 **8**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 336 **45(a)**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 336–7 **50**

Glossary

abortions	Illicit births of the demons; products of lust for the beautiful image of the androgynous god the Third Ambassador / Virgin of Light which was displayed in the heavens, they fall to earth and are the ancestors and begetters of Adam and Eve.
Adam	The first human, begotten from a demonic orgy but formed after the image of god (here: the Third Ambassador); he is saved by Jesus the Splendour, an episode that becomes the prototype of human salvation.
Adamant of light	One of the five sons of the Living Spirit, whose arena of authority is between the firmament and this earth; a god of strength and victory, associated with the subjugation of matter and its monsters.
Adamas	See: *Adamant of light*.
aeons	Term variously used for the divine eternal realities; in particular the Father in his kingdom is surrounded by the twelve great aeons, and they by 'the aeons of the aeons'. Also: *new aeon*.
Ambassador	See: *Third Ambassador*.
Atlas	See: *Porter*.
Aurentes	One of the true apostles to the east (from the Sanskrit: arhat, lit. 'one who is worthy').
Beloved of Lights	First god of the second emanation, i.e. the gods of creation.
bema	Lit. 'rostrum' or 'judgement seat' (Greek). A raised platform with five steps, on which was placed an image of Mani, formed the centrepiece

for the *bema* festival held in commemoration of Mani's death. This symbolised the living presence of the apostle in the community, until Jesus would return to take the judgement seat at the end of time. There were thus various connected significances: commemoration of Mani, a focus for confession and repentance, anticipation of the last day.

Buddha — One of the true apostles to the east, and amongst Mani's principal forerunners.

counsel of life — See: *summons and obedience*.

Cross of Light — Divinity of the living soul in matter, particularly as crucified in vegetation and plant life, where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb; it was a particular concern of the elect to reverence and never to harm the Cross.

Eve — Consort to Adam and the first woman; Mani drew upon a range of apocryphal traditions in his depiction of her.

Father of Greatness — Also, variously, 'God of truth', 'King of light', 'Lord of all', without origin, eternal and the first of all that is good and beautiful; during the time of mixture he is a 'hidden God' whose emanations engage in the conflict with evil, but at the end and after the final victory he will again unveil his image.

Father of Life — Alternative name for the Living Spirit.

First Man — God of the first emanation, the gods of descent, and the first-born son of the Father; he descends as a warrior into the darkness where he is defeated by the forces of evil and stripped of his armour (i.e. the living soul), thence to be rescued by the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, and so to ascend to be king in the new aeon.

five dark elements — Smoke, fire, wind, water and darkness; these are the elements of the five storehouses or worlds of the land of darkness (and the five genera of creatures, etc.), which in history and the cosmos are mixed with the five light elements.

five light elements Living air, fire, wind, water and light; the First Man descends with these (variously, e.g. as 'garments'), is stripped of them in the abyss, after which they are mixed with the five dark elements (or matter) and become the focus of the salvific effort (*Keph*. 127.16–23 explains that strictly the living air did not enter mixture, but remained behind to provide life for its four other 'brothers').

five dark intellectuals The evil counterparts to the five light intellectuals (see below).

five light intellectuals Consideration, counsel, insight, thought, mind, i.e. the noetic qualities of the living soul which parallel the more substantially conceived five light elements; the process of salvation, by which the old man becomes the new man, involves the replacing of their evil counterparts with the good and true in order to incarnate the Light Mind (see especially kephalaion 38, published here as sect. 67).

five sons of First Man Also, variously, the 'five shining gods' or 'garments'; these may be portrayed as the armour of which the First Man was stripped, or his soul that was sacrificed to the evil forces of matter. See: *living soul, five light elements*.

five sons of Living Spirit Adamant of Light, Keeper of Splendour, King of Glory, King of Honour, Porter; these are the gods who hold the cosmos in place until the end of time when they shall rise up, causing it to collapse in on itself and be destroyed in the great fire.

God of Truth See: *Father of Greatness*.

Great Builder God of the second emanation, the gods of creation; he is the architect of the new aeon, and also of the prison for the enemy and his powers.

Great Spirit Alternative name for the Mother of Life, but sometimes indicating her pre-existence in the Father (e.g. *Keph*. 70.27–32).

Jesus Christ — Lord, saviour and son of God, of whom Mani regarded himself as an apostle; the historical Jesus of Manichaeism inherited various apocryphal and heterodox traditions (most notably docetism).

Jesus Splendour — God of the third emanation, the gods of salvation, with his throne in the moon; he appeared and brought the knowledge of truth to Adam, and is closely associated with the Light Mind (so that both Jesus and the Mind can be termed 'father of all the apostles') who is incarnated in the true believer and church.

Jesus Youth — Personification of the living soul in both its innocence and its active will for salvation, and thus a child of the summons and obedience (which is the counsel of life).

Judge of truth — Eschatological divinity who is located in the atmosphere; he judges the soul after death, and sends it to death, to life, or to rebirth.

Keeper of Splendour — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he is located in the heights of the cosmos, overseeing the three uppermost heavens.

King of Darkness — Principal manifestation of evil Matter, and the ruler of the demonic forces.

King of Glory — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he turns the three wheels and has authority over the three earths above the Porter.

King of Honour — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he is located in the seventh heaven, from where he oversees those below him.

land of darkness — Eternal and ingenerate demonic realm, situated to the south and below the land of light, and ruled by the King of Darkness who is the manifestation of evil Matter; its five constituent worlds (variously: five elements, storehouses, trees, genera of demonic creatures, etc.) are continuously at war with each other, their entire nature being blind, grasping lust and destruction.

land of light — Eternal and ingenerate divine realm, situated north, west, east and above the land of darkness, and ruled by the Father of Greatness who is the source of all that is good and beautiful; it is entirely peaceful and joyous.

Last Statue — Eschatological divinity, that at the time of the great fire and dissolution of the universe will ascend; the final gathering in of the living soul by the counsel of life, so that the entire history of conflict and mixture is from the going down of the First Man to the rising up of the Last Statue.

Light Form — Eschatological divinity, who at the time of death will meet the victorious soul; she appears as a beautiful maiden, together with three angels bearing gifts of light (variously: the victory prize, light garment and crown).

Light Mind — Divinity that is incarnated in the apostles, redeemed souls (viz. one in whom the new man has displaced the old man) and the church; the personification of knowledge, obedience and truth.

living soul — The divine light soul (or collectivity of the five elements) that descended at the beginning with the First Man, and was devoured by the evil demonic forces to endure repeated degradations while mixed in matter; the focus of the salvific endeavour.

Living Spirit — The demiurge; god of the second emanation who (with the Mother of Life) rescues the First Man, defeats the demonic forces, and creates the cosmos out of their bodies (but mixed through with the light that they have first devoured).

lump — Greek: 'bolos'; the final mass of evil and the damned that remains to be sealed up at the end of time, never again to trouble the light.

Maiden of Light — See: *Virgin of Light*.

Matter — Greek: 'hyle'; the very principle of evil and darkness, ie. the 'thought of death' that fashions and

	begets the creatures of darkness, and which is manifested in lust and hatred.
Mind	See: *Light Mind*.
moon	The 'ship of living waters' and enlightener of the night, where are situated the thrones of the First Man, Jesus Splendour and the Virgin of Light; as purified light ascends it fills up the moon, before then being ferried on to the sun (this process being visible to all in the lunar waxing and waning).
new aeon	A new light earth built by the Great Builder above this material cosmos as a home for the gods during the time of mixture, and a resting-place for the redeemed souls and light; the First Man is king there.
new man	The old man is transformed into the new by the Light Mind, as the five noetic and moral qualities are fashioned and displace their dark counterparts; the terminology was ultimately derived from Paul, but the details of this process received much elaboration by Mani and his followers (see here especially sect. 67).
old man	See: *new man*.
Paraclete	From John 14:16–17:26 and 16:7ff.; Mani identified his spiritual Twin as this figure promised by Jesus, and (being united with him) himself came to be honoured as such.
Perfect Man	See: *Pillar of Glory*.
Picture(-Book)	Greek: 'eikon'; one of Mani's scriptures in which he depicted episodes of cosmic history.
Pillar of Glory	Eschatological god who is personified as the Perfect Man; he represents the light ascending from mixture into unity and via the moon into the divine realm, reversing the descent of the First Man and anticipating the Last Statue.
planets (seven)	See: *stars*.
Porter	One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he stands upon the foundation of the cosmos and supports its entire weight.

Primal Man	See: *First Man*.
rulers	Greek: 'archon'; the children of darkness and demons that are the powers and authorities in this world of mixture.
Saklas	Leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (i.e. the Manichaean interpretation of Genesis 1.26–7, see further *Keph*. 137.15–138.19).
Satan	Personification of the King of Darkness in the world; in Manichaean texts the term is used with particular reference to Judaeo-Christian contexts (e.g. at *Keph*. 159.1 he stands for the Old Testament God).
Seth(el)	Son of Adam, and counted amongst the true apostles; Mani drew upon a range of apocryphal traditions in his depiction of him.
Spirit of truth	Ie. the Paraclete.
Splenditenens	(Latin); See: *Keeper of Splendour*.
stars (five)	Manichaeism subscribed to a doctrine of astrological fatalism, where the planets and the stars (but not including the divine sun and moon) were forces of evil and bondage.
summons and obedience	Also, variously, 'call and answer'; they are divinities of the process of salvation who jointly form the counsel of life, and whose archetypes are found in the episode of the redemption of the First Man where the call goes down to him in the abyss, and is met by his response.
sun	The 'ship of living fire' and enlightener of the day, where are situated the thrones of the Mother of Life, the Living Spirit and the Third Ambassador; purified light endlessly fills the sun as it is ferried on from the moon, so that it is the gate of life (i.e. the portal to the new aeon) and a fitting object for worship.
Syzygos	Greek: 'pair' and 'comrade'; see: *Twin*.
Third Ambassador	God of the third emanation, the god of salvation, with his throne in the sun (with which he may be identified); he is particularly represented

in the episode where he appears naked before the evil powers chained in the heavens, causing them to ejaculate spontaneously and thus to release their light, and (as a later result) Adam and Eve are formed after his image.

three wheels — Cosmic mechanisms turned by the King of Glory, by which the divine elements of fire and water and wind are drawn up to the heights, whilst their evil counterparts are discharged below.

Twin — Mani's spiritual partner-spirit who revealed to him the truth about everything; identified with the Paraclete foretold by Jesus.

Virgin of Light — God of the third emanation, the gods of salvation, with her throne in the moon (with which she may be identified); female manifestation of the Third Ambassador, so that the two appear as an androgynous sun-moon god.

virgin of light — The term is variously used, with particular reference to the soul of the First Man and the perfected individual soul (or its spiritual image).

watchers — Rebellious giants who descend to earth from the heavens; the episode derives ultimately from Genesis 6.4, but Mani drew upon apocryphal traditions in his canonical Book of the Giants.

Zarathushtra — One of the line of true apostles and amongst Mani's principal forerunners.

zodiac (twelve) — See: *stars*.

Bibliography

Only those works referred to in the text are listed below. A comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on Manichaeism to 1996 can be found in Mikkelsen (1997).

Adam, A. (1969) *Texte zum Manichäismus*, 2nd edn. Berlin.

Alfaric P. (1920) 'Un manuscrit manichéen [Le document de Tebesse]', *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, N.S. 6: 62–98.

Allberry, C. R. C. (ed.) (1938) *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*. Stuttgart.

Amélineau, E. (1914) *Œuvres de Schenoudi*, II. Paris.

Asmussen, J. P. (1975) *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, Persian Heritage Series 22. New York.

Bang, W. and von Gabain, A. (1929) 'Türkische Turfan-Texte, II. Manichaica', *SPAW. PH*: 411–30.

Bartelink, G. J. M. (ed.) (1974) *Palladio La Storia Lausiaca*. Rome.

BeDuhn, J. D. (2000) *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*. Baltimore.

BeDuhn, J. D. and Harrison, G. (1997) 'The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order', in Mirecki and BeDuhn (eds.) (1997): 33–87.

Beskow, P. (1988) 'The Theodosian Laws Against Manichaeism', in Bryder (1988): 1–11.

al-Biruni (1878) *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*. Leipzig.

Böhlig, A. (ed.) (1966) *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 11/12 (Seite 244–291)*. Stuttgart.

(1985) 'Ja und Amen in manichäischer Dichtung', *ZPE* 58: 59–70.

Böhlig, A. and Polotsky, H. J. (eds.) (1940) *Kephalaia*; I, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10). Stuttgart.

Bourke, V. J. (trans.) (1953) *Saint Augustine, Confessions*. Fathers of the Church 21. Washington, DC.

Boyce, M. (1975) *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian Texts with Notes*. Acta Iranica 3, ser. II, 9. Leiden.

Breydey, M. (ed.) (1985) *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychius von Alexandria*. CSCO 472; Ser. Arab. 45. Louvain.

Brière, M. (ed.) (1961) *Les Homiliae Cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche*. *PO* 29.

Brinkmann, A. (ed.) (1895) *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*. Leipzig.
Brückner, A. (1901) *Faustus von Mileve*. Basel.
Bryder, P. (ed.) (1988) *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism*. Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions 1. Lund.
Budge, E. A. W. (ed.) (1904) *Paradise of the Fathers*, II, Syriac Text. London.
Bultmann, R. (1925) 'Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums', *ZNW* 24: 100–43.
Burkitt, F. C. (1925) *The Religion of the Manichees*. Cambridge.
Burleigh, J. H. S. (1953) *Augustine's Earlier Writings*. London.
Chadwick, O. (1958) *Western Asceticism*. The Library of Christian Classics 12. London.
Christensen, A. (1925) *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*. Copenhagen.
Chwolsohn, D. (1856) *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, I. St Petersburg.
Cirillo, L. (1984) *Elchasai e gli Elchasaiti. Un contributo alla storia della communità giudeo-cristiane*. Studi e ricerche 1, Università degli Studi della Calabria, Centro interdipartimentale di scienze religiose. Cosenza.
(1986) 'Elchasaiti e Battisti di Mani: i limiti di un confronto delle fonti', in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Atti del Simposio Internationale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre, 1984)* eds. L. Cirillo and A. Roselli. Cosenza: 97–139.
Coleman-Norton, P. R. (1966) *Roman State and Christian Church – A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*, 3 vols. London.
Courcelle, P. (1968) *Recherches sur les "Confessions" de Saint Augustin*. 2nd edn. Paris.
Crum, W. E. (1919) 'A "Manichaean" Fragment from Egypt', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 207–8.
Cumont, F. (1908) *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*. I. *La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni*. Brussels.
Cumont, F. and Kugener, M. (1912) *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, II. *Extrait de la CXXIIIe Homélie de Sévère d'Antioche*. III. *L'inscription de Salone*. Brussels.
(1912) *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*. Brussels.
Decret, F. (1970) *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine*. Paris.
(1978) *L'Afrique manichéenne*, I. Texte, II. Notes. Paris.
(1989) 'Aspects de l'Eglise Manichéenne. Remarques sur le Manuscrit de Tébessa', in *Signum Pietatis, Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Zumkeller: Würzburg: 123–51.
Desmulliez, J. *et al.* (eds.) (2000) *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, II/2. *Prosopographie de l'Italie Chrétienne*. Paris and Rome.
Diekamp, F. (ed.) (1907) *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi* 9. Münster.
Dodge, B. (1970) *The Fihrist of an-Nadim. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, 2 vols. New York.

Edwards, M. J. (1989) 'A Christian Addition to Alexander of Lycopolis', *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 4, 42: 483–7.
Egger, R., *et al.* (eds.) (1926) *Forschungen in Salona*. Vienna.
Emmel, S. L. (1993) Shenute's Literary Corpus, 4 vols. (Diss. Yale).
Feldmann, E. (1987) *Die 'Epistula Fundamenti' der nordafrikanischen Manichäer. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*. Altenberg.
Festugière, A. J. (ed.) (1961) *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. Edition critique du texte grec*. Brussels.
Flügel, G. (1862) *Mani. Seine Lehre und seine Schriften*. Leipzig.
(ed.) (1871) Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. Leipzig.
Fonkic, B. L. and Poljakov, B. L. (1990) 'Paläographische Grundlagen der Datierung des Kölner Mani-Kodex', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83/1: 22–30.
Freese, J. H. (1920) *The Library of Photius*, 1. London.
Funk W.-P. (1999–2000) *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte*. Fasc. 13/14 (1999), 15/16 (2000). Stuttgart.
Gallagher, D. A. and I. J. (1966) *Saint Augustine, The Catholic and Manichaean Ways of Life*. Fathers of the Church 56. Washington, DC.
Gardner, I. (trans.) (1995) *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*. Leiden.
(1996) *Kellis Literary Texts I*. DOP monograph 4. Oxford.
Gardner, I., Alcock, A., and Funk, W. -P. (1999) *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis I*. DOP monograph 9. Oxford.
Gardner, I., Nobbs, A. and Choat, M. (2000) 'P. Harr. 107: Is this another Greek Manichaean letter?', *ZPE* 131: 118–24.
Gibb, J. and Montgomery, W. (eds.) (1908) *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*. Cambridge.
Gignac, F. T. (1976) *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 1. Milan.
Giversen, S. (1986, 1988) *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*. 4 vols. Cahiers d'Orientalisme 14–17. Geneva.
Gregoire, H. and Kugener, M.-A. (eds.) (1930) *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre*. Paris.
Grillmeier, A. (1990) *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche, Bd. II/4: Die Kirche von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien nach 451,* unter Mitarbeit von Theresia Hainthaler. Freiburg.
Grünewald, M. (1979) *Didymus der Blinde, Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*. Tura Papyrus. Bonn.
Haardt, R. (1971) *Gnosis, Character and Testimony*. Leiden.
Haloun, G. and Henning, W. B. (1952) 'The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light', *Asia Major*, N.S. 3: 184–212.
Harrison, G. and BeDuhn, J. D. (2001) 'The Authenticity and Doctrine of (ps.) Mani's Letter to Menoch', in Mirecki and BeDuhn (eds.) (2001): 128–72.
Harrop, J. H. (1962) 'A Christian Letter of Commendation', *JEA* 48: 132–40.
Henning, W. B. (1934) 'Ein manichäisches Henochbuch', *SPAW.PH* 5: 27–35.

(1936) 'Zwei Fehler in der arabisch-manichäischen Überlieferung', *Orientalia*, N.S. 5: 84–7

(1942) 'Mani's Last Journey', *BSOAS* 10: 941–53.

Henrichs, A. (1973) 'Mani and the Babylonian Baptists: a Historical Confrontation', *HSCP* 77: 23–59.

(1979) 'The Cologne Mani Codex reconsidered', *HSCP* 83: 339–67.

Henrichs, A. and Koenen, L. (1970) 'Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)', *ZPE* 5: 97–216.

(1975–1982) 'Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ', *ZPE* 19: 1–85, 32: 87–199, 44: 201–318, 48: 1–59.

Hinz, W. (1971) 'Mani and Kardīr', in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo (Roma, 31 marzo – 5 aprile 1970)*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei CCCLXVIII, quaderno N.160. Rome: 485–502.

van der Horst, P. W. and Mansfeld, J. (eds.) (1974) *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus'*. Leiden.

Hutter, M. (1992) *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M98/99 I und M7980–7984*, Studies in Oriental Religions 21, 3rd Ser. 8. Wiesbaden.

Hyamson, M. (ed. and trans.) (1913) *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collectio*. Oxford.

Jackson, A. V. W. (1932) *Researches in Manichaeism, with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments*. Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series. New York.

Jenkins, R. G. (1995) 'The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T. Kellis 22)', *Le Muséon* 108: 243–63.

Johnson, D. W. (1987) 'Coptic reactions to Gnosticism and Manichaeism', *Le Muséon* 100: 199–209.

Kaden, E. H. (1953) 'Die Edikte gegen die Manichäer von Diokletian bis Justinian', in *Festschrift Hans Lewald bei Vollendung des vierzigsten Amtsjahre als ordentlicher Professor im Oktober 1953*. Basel: 55–68.

Keenan, M. E. (1952) 'Life of St. Anthony' in *Early Christian Biographies*, ed. R. J. Deferrari. Fathers of the Church 15. Washington, DC.

Klein, W. (1992) 'Ein koptisches antimanichaikon von Schenute von Atripe', Wiessner and Klimkeit (eds.) (1992): 367–79.

Klijn, A. F. J. (1977) *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Traditions*, Leiden.

Klimkeit, H. -J. (1993) *Gnosis on the Silk Road, Gnostic Parables, Hymns and Prayers from Central Asia*. San Francisco.

Koenen, L. (1973) 'Zur Herkunft des Kölner Mani-Codex', *ZPE* 11: 240–1.

Koenen, L. and Römer, C. (eds.) (1985) *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex, Abbildungen und Diplomatischer Text*. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 35. Bonn.

(1988) (ed. and trans.) *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (Über das Werden seines Leibes), Kritische Edition aufgrund der von A. Henrichs und L. Koenen besorgten*

Erstedition. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe, Papyrologica Coloniensia 14. Opladen.
(1993) *Mani. Auf der Spur einer verschollenen Religion*. Freiburg.
Krause, M. (1994) 'Die Aussagen von Sarakoton-Psalm 2 (Man. Ps. Book 139, 52–140,17) über die heiligen Schriften der Manichäer', in Preissler and Seiwert (eds.) (1994): 131–41.
Lieu, J. M. and Lieu, S. N. C. (1991) 'Mani and the Magians (?)-*CMC* 137–140', in van Tongerloo and Giversen (eds.) (1991): 203–23.
Lieu, S. N. C. (1988) 'Fact and Fiction in the *Acta Archelai*', in Bryder (1988): 69–88.
(1992) *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. 2nd edn. Tübingen.
(1994, 1999) *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*. Leiden.
(1998) *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. Leiden.
Lim, R. (1989) 'Unity and Diversity among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*', *Revue des études Augustiniennes* 35: 231–50.
(1995) *Public Disputation, Power and Social Order in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.
van Lindt, P. (1992) *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*. Studies in Oriental Religions 26. Wiesbaden.
Lowther Clarke, W. K. (trans.) (1918) *The Lausiac History of Palladius*. London.
Lucchesi, E. (1999) 'Le dossier d'Apa Zénobe: Addenda et corrigenda', *Analecta Bollandiana* 117: 67–80.
Luttikhuizen, G. (1985) *The Revelation of Elchasai, Investigations into the Evidence of a Mesopotamian Jewish Apocalypse of the Second Century and its Reception by Judaeo-Christian Propagandists*. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 8. Tübingen.
(1987) 'The Book of Elchasai: A Jewish Apocalypse', *Aula Orientalis* 5: 101–6.
MacKenzie, D. N. (1979 and 1980) 'Mani's *Šābuhragān* I-II', BSOAS 42: 500–34 and 43: 288–310.
(1989), 'Kerdir's Inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam', in *The Sassanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-i Rustam*, ed. G. Hermann. Iranische Denkmäler, Reihe 2, Lief. 13. Berlin: 35–61.
(1994) 'I, Mani . . .' in Preissler and Seiwert (eds.) (1994): 183–98.
Madouze, A. (ed.) (1982) *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, I. *Prosopographie de l'Afrique Chrétienne (303–533)*. Paris.
Margoliouth, D. S. (1915) 'Notes on Syriac Papyrus Fragments from Oxyrhynchus', *JEA* 2: 214–16.
Martindale, J. R. (1992) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 3B. Cambridge.
de Menasce, J. and Guillou, A. (1946) 'Un cachet manichéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 131: 81–4.
Merkelbach, R. (1988a) 'Die Täufer, bei denen Mani aufwuchs', in Bryder (1988): 105–33.
(1988b) 'Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa', in Bryder (1988): 229–64.

Mikkelsen, G. B. (1997) *Bibliographia Manichaica : A Comprehensive Bibliography of Manichaeism through 1996*. Turnhout.
Mirecki, P. and BeDuhn, J. D. (eds.) (1997) *Emerging from Darkness. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Leiden.
(2001) *The Light and the Darkness, Studies in Manichaeism and its World*. Leiden.
Mitchell, C. W. (ed.) (1912–21) *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan, I. The Discourses adressed to Hypatius; II. The Discourse called 'Of Dumnus' and Six Other Writings*. London and Oxford.
Müller, C. D. G. (1968) *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Shriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I. von Alexandrien*. Heidelberg.
Müller, F. W. K. (1904) 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan', *SPAW*: 20–2.
Müller, L. (1956) *The De Haeresibus of Saint Augustine*. Washington.
Müller, M. M. and Deferrari, R. J. (1952) 'Life of St Augustine by Bishop Possidius', in *Early Christian Biographies*, ed. R. J. Deferrari. Fathers of the Church 15. Washington, DC.
Munier, H. (1916) *Manuscrits coptes*. Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Museé du Caire, No. 9201–4. Cairo.
an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, see Flügel (1871).
O'Donnell, J. J. (1992) *Augustine, Confessions*, II. Oxford.
Omont, H. (1918) 'Fragment d'un très ancien manuscrit latin provenant de l'Afrique du Nord', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*: 241–50.
Parsons, W. (trans) (1956) *St Augustine Letters*, vol. 5 (Letters 204-70). Fathers of the Church 32. Washington, DC.
Pedersen, N. A. (1996) *Studies in The Sermon on the Great War*. Aarhus
(1997) 'A Manichaean Historical Text', *ZPE* 119: 193–201.
Polotsky, H. J. (1932) 'Koptische Zitate aus den Acta Archelai', *Le Muséon* 45: 18–20, reprinted in *Collected Papers by H. J. Polotsky*. Jerusalem, 1971: 645–7.
(ed.) (1934b) *Manichäische Homilien*. Stuttgart.
(1935a) 'Manichäismus', in *A. Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. VI, ed. G. Wissowa. Munich: cols. 241–72.
(1935b) *Abriss des manichäischen Systems*. Stuttgart.
Preissler, H. and Seiwert, H. (eds.) (1994) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph*. Marburg.
Price, R. M. (1991) *The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*. Kalamazoo.
Puech, H. -C. (1949) *Le manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine*. Bibliothèque de diffusion 56. Paris.
(1951) 'The Prince of Darkness and his Kingdom' in *Satan*. London: 127–57.
(1979) *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*. Paris.
Rahmani, A. (ed.) (1909) *Studia Syriaca* IV, *Documenta de antiquis haeresibus*. Beirut.
Reeves, J. C., (1991a) 'The 'Elchasaite' Sanhedrin of the Cologne Mani Codex in Light of Second Temple Jewish Sectarian Sources', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 42, 1: 68–91.

(1991b) 'An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition', in van Tongerloo and Giversen (eds.) (1991): 295–8.
(1992) *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the Book of Giant Traditions*. Cincinnati.
(1996) *Heralds of that Good Realm – Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 41. Leiden.
(1997) 'Manichaean Citations from the *Prose Refutations* of Ephrem', in Mirecki and BeDuhn (eds.) (1997): 217–88.
Reitzenstein, R. (1921) *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*. Bonn.
Richter, S. (1992) 'Untersuchungen zu Form und Inhalt einer Gruppe der Herakleides-Psalmen (PsB 187,1–16)', in Wiessner and Klimkeit (1992): 248–65.
(ed.) (1998) *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library. Psalm Book*, Part II, Fasc. 2, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*. Turnhout.
Riggi, C. (1967) *Epifano Contro Mani*. Roma.
Roberts, C. H. (1938) *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester, Vol. III: Theological and Literary Texts*. Manchester.
Robinson, J. M. (1991) *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*. Unpublished typescript, updated version. Claremont.
(1992) 'The Fate of the Manichaean Codices 1929–1989', in Wiessner and Klimkeit (eds.) (1992): 19–62.
Rochow, I. (1979) 'Zum Fortleben des Manichäismus in Byzantinischen Reich nach Justinian I', *Byzantinoslavica* 40: 13–21.
Römer, C. (1994) *Manis frühe Missionsreisen nach der Kölner Manibiographie. Textkritischer Kommentar und Erläuterungen zu p. 121 – p. 192 des Kölner Mani-Kodex*. Opladen.
Rose, E. (1979) *Die manichäische Christologie*, Studies in Oriental Religions 5. Wiesbaden.
Säve-Söderbergh, T. (1949) *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*. Uppsala.
Schaeder, H. H. (1927) 'Urform und Fortbildungen des Manichäischen Systems', in F. Saxl (ed.) *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924–1925*. Leipzig: 65–157.
Scheltema, H. J. *et al.* (eds.) (1953 ff.) *Basilicorum libri LX*. Groningen.
Schmidt, C. and Polotsky, H. J. (1933) *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner schüler*, *SPAW*: 4–90.
Schwartz, E. (1939) *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*. Leipzig.
(1973) *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*. Milan.
Scopello, M. (1995) 'Vérités et contre-vérités: La vie de Mani selon les Acta Archelai', *Apocrypha* 6: 203–34.
(1997) 'Julie, manichéenne d'Antioche (d'après la Vie de Porphyre de Marc le Diacre, ch. 85–91)', *Antiquité Tardive* 5: 187–209.
Seeck, O. (1906) *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*. Leipzig.
Stein, M. (1998) *Manichaica Latina, Bd. 1, epistula ad Menoch*. Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia 27/1. Opladen.

Strousma, G. (1985) 'Gnostics and Manichaeans in Byzantine Palestine', in E. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica XVIII, Papers of the 1983 Oxford Patristic Conference*. Kalamazoo: 273–8.

(1986) 'The Manichaean Challenge to Egyptian Christianity', in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, eds. B. Pearson and J. E. Goehring. Philadelphia: 307–19.

(1991) 'Titus of Bostra and Alexander of Lycopolis: a Christian and a Platonist Refutation of Manichaean Dualism', in *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, eds R. Wallis and J. Bregman. Albany: 337–49.

Sundermann, W. (1981) *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. Berliner Turfantexte 11. Berlin.

(1986) 'Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer II', *AoF* 13/2. Berlin: 239–317.

(1992) *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*. Berliner Turfantexte 17. Berlin.

Tardieu, M. (1981) *Le Manichéisme*, Que sais-je? Vol. 1940, Paris.

(1992) 'L'arrivée des manichéens à al-Hīra', in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe-VIIIe siècles*, Actes du Colloque international Lyon-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Paris – Institut du Monde Arabe 11–15 Sept. 1990, eds. P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais. Damas (publ. 1994): 15–24.

(1998) 'Les gisements miniers de l'Azerbayjān méridional (région de Taxt-e Soleymān) et la localisation de Gazaka', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, NS 12: 249–68.

van Tongerloo, A. and Giversen, S. (eds.) (1991) *Manichaica Selecta*; *Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Manichaean Studies 1. Louvain:

Trombley, F. R. (1993) *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370–529*, Pt. 1. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 115/1. Leiden.

Tsui Chi, (1943) 'Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan, The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns', *BSOAS* 11/1: 174–219.

Tubach, J. (1997) 'Die Namen von Mani's Jüngern', in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico", Arcavacata de Rende – Amantea 31 agosto – 5 settembre 1993*, eds. L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo. Manichaean Studies 3. Turnhout: 375–93.

Turner, E. and Parsons, P. (1987) *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. BICS Suppl. 46. London.

de Vies, H. (ed.) (1922) *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane I*. Hauniae.

Villey, A. (1985) *Alexandre de Lycopolis: Contre la doctrine de Mani*. Paris.

Vööbus, A. (1958) *A History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, vol. 1. Louvain.

Widengren, G. (1946) *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1946, 3. Uppsala and Leipzig.

(1961) *Mani und der Manichäismus*. Stuttgart.

(1965) *Mani and Manichaeism*, trans. by C. Kessler. Weidenfield Library of Religions. London.

(1978) 'Der Manichäismus. Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Problemforschung', in *Gnosis. Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, ed. B. Aland. Göttingen: 278–315.

Wiessner, G. and Klimkeit, H.-J. (eds.) (1992) *Studia Manichaica*, Studies in Oriental Religions 23. Wiesbaden.

Wurst, G. (1991) 'Bemapsalm Nr. 223. Eine liturgische Version der Epistula fundamenti?', in van Tongerloo and Giversen (eds.): 391–9.

(ed.) (1996) *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library. Psalm Book*, Part II, Fasc. 1, *Die Bema-Psalmen*. Turnhout.

Yoshida, Y. (2000) 'First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts', *Acta Asiatica* 78 (Tun-huang and Turfan Studies): 71–85.

Zieme, P. (1975) *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*. Berlin.

Zoega, G. (ed.) (1810) *Catalogus codicum copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris Asservantur*. Rome.

Index

Abakarim 114
Abesira 106
Abiesus the Teacher 42, 59, 114
Abira 114
Abizachias 66. *See also* Abzakhuya and Zacheas.
Abraham 120
Abū Hilāl al-Dayhūri 43
Abzakhuya 84. *See also* Abizachias and Zacheas.
Achillius 130
Acta Archelai 26, 129, 182, 230
Adam 4, 16, 17, 54, 74, 92, 119, 168, 169, 186, 190, 211, 212, 222, 242, 263
Adamant of Light 15, 16, 210, 211, 212
  Adamas 165, 226
Adda, Mār Addā, Addas 111, 112, 113, 129, 130, 174, 187
Adiabene 1, 75
aeons 12, 13, 21, 98, 170, 176, 184, 192, 195, 204, 205, 214, 226, 233, 234, 235, 247, 250, 252, 255, 257
  twelve aeons 12, 164, 169, 176
  See also new aeon.
agape 280
Aianos the baptist 65
al-Ḥasīh 33
al-Mada'in (Twin-Cities) 24, 43, 46
Alchasaios 30, 34, 63, 65. *See also* Elchasaios.
Alcibiades 31
Alexander of Lycopolis 28, 29, 38, 115, 179
Alexandria 2, 25, 111, 112, 123, 275
Amarō King of the Lakhmids 114
Ambassador *See* Third Ambassador
Ampelius, urban prefect 118
an-Nadīm 26, 33, 36, 46, 153, 155, 165, 167, 256
Ana, brother of the disciple Zacheas 42, 72
Anastasius I 111, 149
Andrew (the apostle) 242
angels 19, 23, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 57, 68, 80, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 120, 131, 165, 177, 189, 195, 196, 205, 217, 224, 225, 233, 236, 241, 275
  archangel 137
  Balsamos the angel 54
  five angels 213
  four angels 212
  Michael the angel 56
  Nahasbat the angel 13
  seven angels 23, 56
  the angel, the Paraclete 97
  three angels 193, 257
Anthony (St) 119
antichrist 222, 267
Antinoe 124, 125, 276
Antioch 102, 125, 126
Aphrodite 207
Apket 106
Apostle of Light 17, 193
Apotactitans 147, 148
Arabia 279
archegos 7, 24, 43, 85, 104
Archelaus 129. *See also Acta Archelai*.
Ardashir 1, 3, 5, 6, 74, 75
Ares 207
Arians 119, 148
Aristobula 243
Aristobulias 129
Aristotle 179
Arius 124
Arsacids 3
Artabanus V of Parthia 3, 74
astrology 15, 32, 127, 205
Athanasius 119
Athimar 91
Atlas (the Porter) 15, 165, 183, 184, 187, 210, 211, 212, 226
Augustine 24, 26, 35, 36, 110, 130, 136, 142, 159, 163, 172, 187, 219, 236, 237, 244, 245
Aurades 77
Aurentes 261, 263

Baat 7, 81
Babylon 1, 59, 78, 86, 90, 103, 223
Badia (?) 82

Balsamos *See* angels
Banak 87
Barabbas 139
Baraies the Teacher 42, 50, 54, 58, 60
Bardaiṣan 4, 28, 75, 155, 261
Barochas 128
Bassa 125
Belabad 89. *See also* Belapat and Bet Lapat.
Belapat 67, 80, 81, 89, 98, 107. *See also* Belabad and Bet Lapat.
Beloved of the Lights 14, 192, 258
bema 25, 85, 93, 99, 176, 237, 238, 239
Benjamin of Alexandria 122
Bet Lapat 7, 8. *See also* Belapat.
Book of Elxai 31, 32, 33
Book of Mysteries 80, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, 166
Book of the Giants 129, 152, 154, 155, 156, 160, 164
Book(s) of Enoch 160
Buddha 6, 9, 18, 261, 263
Buddhism 2, 6, 27, 109
Bundos 117

Cain 92
call and answer *See* summons and obedience
Carrhae 26
Carthage 110, 132, 144
catechumens 19, 23, 52, 74, 87, 90, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 154, 185, 193, 218, 222, 224, 225, 231, 232, 248, 249, 256, 268, 269, 277, 281. *See also* hearers.
Catharists 144, 145
Chaldeans 279
Cheroubin 279
China 76, 110
Cholassar 81
Christ 94, 95, 96, 99, 115, 121, 127, 131, 136, 140, 143, 167, 173, 175, 181, 190, 195, 219, 230, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 257, 262, 263, 268, 271, 275. *See also* Jesus.
Christianity 2, 6, 27, 109, 194
Christians 93, 115, 122, 126, 127, 186
Christmas 122
Cologne Mani-Codex 10, 30, 33, 40, 41, 42, 259
Constantius (Manichaean hearer) 134, 145
Constantius (Roman Emperor) 117
Copres 121
Cornelius 128
Cronos 207
Cross of Light 14, 22, 231, 240, 245, 253
Ctesiphon 3, 5, 7, 46, 67, 76, 81, 91, 103

Dariadaxar 50. *See also* Ardashir
demiurge 15, 19, 180, 204, 206
demons 78, 85, 87, 90, 98, 113, 129, 162, 163, 164, 165, 185, 196, 198, 201, 236, 247
Diatessarōn of Tatian 27, 94
Didymus the Blind 119
Dinak 87
Diocletian 110, 117, 119
Diodorus 130
Donatists 145
Drusiane 243
Dunhuang 7, 26

Easter (pascha) 237, 260
Ecbatana 3
Edict of Milan 110
Egypt 24, 43, 110, 120, 122, 179, 187, 278, 279
Elchasai(os) or Elxai 3, 4, 30, 31, 33. *See also* Alchasaios.
Elchasaites 5, 31, 33, 35, 260
elect 12, 19, 23, 24, 32, 52, 54, 66, 74, 87, 101, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 122, 125, 131, 134, 135, 142, 143, 144, 145, 154, 155, 157, 171, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 193, 202, 209, 216, 218, 224, 225, 231, 232, 236, 240, 244, 245, 247, 251, 256, 257, 262, 268, 269, 275, 280, 281
Encratitans 147, 148
Enoch 4, 18, 56, 92, 242, 261, 263
Enosh 4, 55, 92, 242, 261, 263
Ephraim 28, 36
Epiphanius 26, 31
Epistles of Mani 10, 22, 38, 135, 152, 153, 154, 156, 165, 167, 274. *See also Fundamental Epistle.*
  Letter to Edessa 42, 57, 166
  Letter to Menoch 172
  Letter on the Ten Words 167
eschatology 19, 20, 27, 29, 186, 187, 191, 203, 204, 205, 220, 223, 224, 225. *See also* new aeon.
Essenes 32
Eunomians 148
Eusebia 144
Euthymius 129
Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) 121
Eve 16, 91, 119, 168, 169, 186, 190, 211, 212

Father of Life *See* Living Spirit
Father of light or greatness, God of truth, King of light, Lord of all, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 41, 47, 50, 59, 67, 68, 69, 78, 79, 83, 97, 141, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 186, 188, 191, 192, 195, 197, 198, 203, 204, 209, 216, 218, 219, 226, 230, 234, 235, 236, 248, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, 259, 263, 275

Faustus of Milevis 111, 132, 133, 219
Fayum 123
Felix 35, 110
Ferat 5. *See also* Pharat.
Firmus 142, 143
First or Primal Man 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 27, 85, 88, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 192, 203, 204, 205, 218, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 234, 235, 241, 247, 248, 249, 250, 257, 258
five sons of the First Man, five gods, five light elements, five powers, 12, 13, 14, 15, 177, 182, 188, 192, 203, 205, 208, 209, 211, 213. *See also* Living Soul.
five sons of the Living Spirit 15, 20, 192, 204, 205, 208, 210, 213, 241. *See also* Adamant, Atlas, Keeper of Splendour, King of Glory, King of Honour.
five storehouses (of the Kingdom of Darkness), five dark elements, five kings, five trees, five worlds, 12, 13, 14, 15, 162, 170, 177, 188, 199, 200, 204, 206, 208, 213
food rituals 5, 22, 24, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 72, 115, 122, 131, 144, 181, 185, 188, 189, 244, 245, 246
Form of Light 19, 87, 89, 193, 233, 236
Fortunatus 110
Fundamental Epistle (Epistula Fundamenti) 168, 170

Galerius 117
Galileans (Christians) 174
Gallus 75
Ġālūs *see under* Gallus.
Ganzak 5, 6, 69
George of Laodicea 130
Georgia 6
gnosticism 9, 25, 29
God of truth. *See* Father of light or greatness.
Gospel of Mani, *Living Gospel* 58, 80, 89, 91, 111, 129, 130, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 164, 223, 266
Gratian 145, 147
Great Builder 14, 20, 178, 192
Great Spirit *See* Mother of Life

Hannibal (as foreign arch-enemy of Rome) 138
Hatra 50
hearer or auditor, hearers 23, 24, 37, 109, 111, 113, 122, 133, 135, 143, 145, 155, 188, 189, 190, 233, 237, 244, 268, 269. *See also* catechumens.
Hegemonius 129. *See also Acta Archelai*.
Heraclianus 129, 130
Herakleides (Psalmist) 219
Hermeias 187
Hermes 207
Hermes Trismegistus 261
Hermopolis Magna 121
Hesiod 127
Hippo 110, 142
Hippolytus 31
Holy Spirit 10, 13, 57, 113, 131, 136, 158, 168, 176, 190, 204, 219, 254, 255, 264, 275
Hormizd 7, 80, 83
Hormizdakshar 81
Hortensius 138
Hydroparastatans 147, 148
Hypatius, praetorian prefect 147
Hystaspes 263

India and Indians 1, 5, 73, 75, 76, 77, 92, 93, 109
Innaios 42, 59, 102, 104, 106
Iran 109
Islam 2, 8, 27
Ismant el-Kharab 24, 35, 43, 45, 194, 238, 246, 259, 272. *See also* Kellis.

Jacob 139
James 242
Jesus 2, 4, 9, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 49, 57, 66, 74, 75, 95, 103, 112, 113, 115, 120, 131, 136, 139, 143, 155, 157, 158, 167, 176, 185, 187, 190, 193, 212, 217, 218, 219, 223, 225, 227, 238, 242, 248, 253, 254, 256, 261, 263, 264. *See also* Christ.
  Jesus Splendour 15, 17, 192, 193, 227, 257
  Jesus the Youth 193, 208, 211
Jews 92, 95, 96, 175, 186, 219, 263, 264
John the virgin 242
Judas 124, 125, 139, 167, 263
Judge 193, 257
judgement, last. *See* eschatology
Judgement of Peter 274
Julia 125, 126, 127, 128
Julian of Eclanum 172
Julianus, Proconsul of Africa 116, 117
Justin (Byzantine Emperor) 149
Justinian 111, 149, 150

Kamsaragan 3
Kapelos 77
Kardel 81. *See also* Karder.
Karder 8, 84. *See also* Kardel.
Keeper of Splendour 15, 164, 210, 211, 212, 226
Kellis 9, 22, 35, 38, 43, 44, 45, 238, 272, 277, 280. *See also* Ismant el-Kharab.
Khorasan 76
Khūzistan 114
King of Darkness 12, 13, 16, 186, 199, 200, 201, 202, 244
King of Fire 202

King of Glory 15, 165, 210, 211, 212, 226
King of Honour 15, 17, 164, 210, 211, 212, 226
King of Smoke 190, 199, 200
King of Water 202
King of Wind 202
kingdom or land of darkness 12, 169, 177, 178, 199, 200, 216, 241, 252. *See also* five storehouses.
Koushan 81. *See also* Kushan.
Koustaios or Kushtai, son of the 'treasure of life' 42, 68, 84, 221
Kundaros 175
Kushan 110

Lao-tzu 261
Last Statue 20, 178, 203, 204, 205, 226
Latin 275
Libanius 110, 125
Light Form *See* Form of Light
Light Mind 17, 193, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 227, 228, 229, 235, 247, 248, 252, 256, 257, 277, 278, 280
Living Soul 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 137, 142, 159, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 195, 197, 204, 209, 211, 213, 218, 228, 231, 238, 240, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 253
Living Spirit 14, 15, 178, 183, 184, 187, 192, 203, 205, 206, 210, 211, 226, 227, 233, 234, 235. *See also* demiurge.
  Father of life 14, 203, 234, 250, 251
  second son 178

Luxor 41
Lycopolis 38, 41, 109, 110
Lydia 125

Macedonians 148
Magi 81, 105, 106
Magians 7, 8, 96, 97
magic 127, 201, 278
Maiden of Light. *See* Virgin of Light
Malliana 110, 143, 144
Malōp 114
mammon 269
Mandaeans 30
Mani
  apostle, apostle of Jesus Christ 9, 10, 18, 24, 41, 86, 156, 157, 167, 168, 172, 190, 192, 203, 206, 209, 252, 261, 264, 265
  birth 3, 46, 47, 50
  buddha 156
  death or 'crucifixion' of, 24, 80, 81, 89, 93, 94, 95, 99, 103, 105, 243
Marcion 19, 28, 75, 110, 261
Marcionism 4, 19
Margaret 144
Mariam 220
Mark (the deacon) 126
Mark (the evangelist) 125
Maryam, mother of Mani 3
Mattarii (Manichaean group) 145
Matter (hyle) 12, 15, 161, 162, 163, 179, 180, 181, 182, 200, 209, 230, 247
Maximianus 117
Maximilla 243
Medes 69, 79
Medinet Madi 25, 29, 37, 39, 110
Meletians 119
Menoch 172
Mesene 1, 6, 72, 75, 78, 81, 103
Mesopotamia 3, 34, 109
Messenger *See* Third Ambassador
Michael *See* angels
Mihrshah 6
Milan 133, 134
Mithridates 138
Modion, work of Addas 130
monasteries (Manichaean) 23, 111, 112
monasticism (Christian) 21
Monica, mother of Augustine 131
moon 15, 20, 21, 24, 88, 132, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 206, 207, 208, 218, 219, 224, 229, 230, 232, 244, 257, 277
  ship of water or night or First Man 15, 218, 258
  three moons 229
Moses 120, 186, 190, 244
Mother of Life 13, 14, 157, 158, 182, 187, 192, 227, 233, 234, 250, 257
  Great Spirit 13, 176, 192, 203, 227
Mount of Olives 220
Mousak 80
Mughtasilah 32, 33, 47

Nabroel 16
Nafšā 111, 112, 113
Nahasbat *See* angels
Narses 104
Naser 5, 67
new aeon, aeon of light 20, 179, 187, 195, 196, 202, 203, 205, 226, 233, 235, 267
New Testament 151, 190
Nikotheos 18
Noah 18, 139, 242, 263
Nuhzadag 84

Oggias 73
Ohrmezd 88
Origen 31
Osseans 31
O(zeos) 87

Oxyrhynchus 36, 41
Ozeos, the land of 81, 103

Palestine 126
Palmyra *See* Tadmor
Papos 116
Paraclete 4, 5, 10, 18, 54, 57, 74, 75, 99, 131, 176, 186, 190, 239, 248, 259, 261, 265, 273, 278, 279
Pargalia 81
Parthia and Parthians 1, 75, 79
pascha *See* Easter
Pattek (Patticius), father of Mani 3, 5, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73
Pattek (Patīg) the teacher 111, 112, 168
Paul (the apostle) 4, 18, 19, 31, 42, 57, 92, 114, 137, 138, 140, 167, 173, 219, 238, 242, 261, 264
perfect air 184
Perfect Man *See* Pillar of Glory
Peroz 6
Persia 1, 73, 75, 77, 78, 103, 114, 117, 119. *See also* Persis.
Persis (Fars) 6, 91
Peter (the apostle) 139, 242
Phaeno 118
Pharat 72, 73. *See also* Ferat.
Pharisees 139
Philistion (the comic) 127
Photius 129
Picture Book 89, 152, 156, 223, 266
Pilate. *See* Pontius Pilate
Pillar of Glory or Splendour 19, 52, 88, 154, 184, 192, 208, 211, 212, 218, 257
  Column of Praise 257
  Perfect Man 19, 20, 85, 192, 208, 211, 218, 248, 257. *See also* perfect air.
Plato 179
Pneumatomachians 148
Pontius Pilate 95, 219
Porphyry of Gaza 125, 126, 127, 128
Porter *See* Atlas
Possidius 142
Postumianus, praetorian prefect 148
Pragmateia (*The Treatise*) 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 164
Prayers. See also Psalms and the Prayers.
  Great Prayers 274
  Prayer-Book 274
Primal Man *See* First Man
Priscianus 125
Proconnesus 118
Prostrations 274
Psalms and the Prayers 152, 153, 154, 156, 163, 164, 274

Qumran 32, 33, 160

Rabbi 220
Rome 133, 134, 135, 136

Sabaoth 186
Sabbaios the baptist 65
sabbath 226
Saccoforians 147, 148
Saclas 16, 190
Salmaios the Ascetic 41, 48
Salona 125
Sampseans 31
Sapores. *See under* Shapur.
Sara (wife of Abraham) 139
Sarapion the Sidonite 126
Sarouphin 279
Satan 102, 103, 127, 259–263, 275
Sayings 274
Scythianus 38, 175
Secundinus 136
Seleucia-Ctesiphon 43, 112
Sem 56, 92, 261, 263
Serapion of Thmuis 26, 130
Sermon of the Great War 20, 220
Seth 4, 17, 18
  Sethel 55, 90, 242, 261, 263
Sethel (the servant) 114
Severus of Antioch 36, 160
Shah of Turan 6
Sham'ūn 33
Shapur 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 27, 50, 73, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 109, 116, 152
Shem 4, 92, 242
Shenoute 229
Shenute (dux) 124
ships 52, 74, 183, 205, 247, 248, 251. *See also* sun (ship of fire or day) and moon (ship of water or night).
Simeon 66
Simon Peter 220
Sisinnios 89, 102, 104, 106
Sita 59, 60, 62
Sitaios 58, 59
Sobiai 31
Song of the Lovers 164
soul *See* Living Soul
Sparta 126
splenditenens *See* Keeper of Splendour
summons and obedience 14, 52, 193, 205, 208, 211, 218, 234, 249
sun 11, 15, 20, 21, 125, 132, 178, 180, 181, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 206, 207, 208, 218, 219, 230, 232, 244, 277
  ship of fire or day or Third Ambassador 15, 203, 218, 258
Susiana 1, 6, 75
Symmachus, praefectus urbi 134

Syria 110
Syriac 160
Syzygos or Twin 4, 5, 10, 30, 42, 47, 49, 50, 52, 58, 65–66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 154, 158, 196, 261

Taδī 113
Tadmor (Palmyra) 112
Taoism 2
Teacher (Manichaean leader) 24, 276
Tebessa Codex 37
Thagaste 110
Thecla 243
Theodor bar Khoni 13, 36
Theodosius I 111, 145, 147
Thesaurus. See Treasury
Thio 274
Third Ambassador or Messenger 15, 16, 39, 154, 180, 191, 192, 203, 205, 210, 211, 212, 218, 257, 258
  third elder 187
Thomas (disciple of Mani) 116, 187
Thomas (Psalmist) 196
Thomas (the apostle) 10, 139, 242
three seals 231, 236
Timotheos 42, 52, 59, 65, 68, 70
Timothy of Alexandria 121
Titus of Bostra 26, 130
transmigration of souls 23, 35, 172, 184, 189, 196, 230
Treasury of the Life 129, 153, 154, 156, 159, 164
Treatise, The. See Pragmateia
Turfan 25, 29, 110
Twin *See* Syzygos and Paraclete

Ursus 144
Uzzi 89

Vahram I 7, 84, 105, 107
Valens 118
Valentinian I 118, 147
Valentinian II 145, 147
Valentinus (gnostic) 4, 29
Valerian (emperor) 116
Viator 144
Victorinus 143
Virgin of Light 15, 85, 157, 184, 187, 192, 227, 256, 257

wanderers (sarakote) 247, 253
world of darkness 207
world of fire 206
world of smoke 206
world of water 206
world of wind 206

Zabinas 175
Zacheas 42, 63, 72, 114. *See also* Abizachias and Abzakhuya.
Zakū 75
Zarathustra 10, 18, 92, 93, 261, 263
Zebedee 92, 242
Zeno (Byzantine Emperor) 149
Zenobia 114
Zeus 207
Ziph 129
zodiac 206, 207, 208, 210
Zoroastrianism 6, 27, 29, 109, 152
Zurvanism 6, 26